



1703-1758



Jonathan Edwards

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THE
NEW ENGLAND HISTORY,

FROM THE
DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT

BY THE
NORTHMEN, A.D. 986,
TO THE
PERIOD WHEN THE COLONIES DECLARED THEIR
INDEPENDENCE, A.D. 1776.

BY
CHARLES W. ELLIOTT,

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK, OHIO AND CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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The
COLONIES
and
ROYAL PROVINCES
of
NEW ENGLAND.

A.D. 1692.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

NEW ENGLAND MEN AND WOMEN.

AMUSEMENT—WORK—DANCING—ART—MUSIC—COMFORT—ARISTOCRACY—SLAVERY—PURITANS NOT BASE-BORN—WOMAN IN NEW ENGLAND—THE MARTYRS—SCOLDS—DECLENSION—THE VOICE OF LOVE—A LOVE-LETTER—REBECCA RAWSON—POLLY BAKER—“ON SYLVIA”—ADVERTISEMENT—TEA—HEROIC CHARACTER—CHILDREN—BEAUTY AND HEALTH—IGNORANCE AND KNOWLEDGE—MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL GOOD.

THE purpose and end of all Society and Government being to make good and complete men and women, it becomes us to inquire, what elements of development and growth existed; what also were neglected in New England.

New England seems to have suffered for the want of two things—AMUSEMENT and ART. Why was this? Necessity forced men to work, for the fertile lands were scarce, and the long winters required much food and shelter for man and beast. In a tropical land constant fruits seduce the body to repose; but in a colder region the first warm sunshine of spring must be watched, and seized, and planted along with the sprouting seed; the early hours and the even-tide must be devoted to hasten the crops, which in the short summer must grow and blossom, and bear their fruit. Nature does much, but man must do much; he is the gnome, whose cunning hand is to work up her black earths and rocks into golden

grains. God helps those who help themselves, was a doctrine practiced in New England ; and however they prayed, they always worked. Through eight months in the year, no man or woman had time for amusement. Habits were thus fixed ; and, when the winter came, those who had passed the hey-day of life, were content with rest.

The young now and then indulged in outbursts of amusement, and ran into excess, which they might have escaped, had fathers and mothers taken part with them in the dance and song. Another element had a marked influence upon manners : not only must the body be sustained, although despised, but the soul must be saved. Serious men and women passed into serious years—feared the wrath of God ; ignorant as all were of the laws of health, they feared to be cut down in a moment, and they sat with Death at their board. To such, mere forgetfulness seemed sinful, and a song savored of evil, while a light word or laugh might be an insult to that God who shook the heavens and the earth with his thunders, and said unto them, “ Repent, repent, for the day of the Lord is at hand.”

It is plain that they could not indulge in trifling amusement, and must discountenance it in their children ; young people, therefore, found gayety and recreation as they could. But a serious child being a solecism, and contrary to Nature and God, childhood and youth asserted themselves in New England, and could not be repressed. Throughout New England, since then, parents have learned that joy and laughter are not sinful. They are wise who remember, that man lives not by bread alone, nor by work alone, but by every word that proceeds from God, whether spoken by thunders, or birds, or songs, or science.

Recreation and relaxation are as necessary to a healthy nature, as work and worship, and no person is ever too old to enjoy their lives, and thus glorify God.

Dancing, an expression of gayety everywhere, prevailed

in New England wherever the army officers of Europe appeared. It seems to have been indulged in before the great revival of 1740, to have subsided then, and to have again prevailed before the Revolution. But excesses of drinking, in which young men indulged, led again and again to an onslaught upon dancing, which should have been directed against drunkenness.

ART was neglected for much the same reasons that Amusement was discouraged. The necessities of a New Country, forbade one to make Painting, or Sculpture, or Music, or Poetry, the occupation of his life. Such a person would have failed to receive respect or support.

Neither would those occupations have seemed consistent with the idea, that a man was standing in the presence of an awful God, and liable at any moment to be called to judgment. Of the Fine Arts, Music only received a brief attention, as an accessory to the Sunday service. Art, therefore, failed to impart that grace, and delicacy, and ornament, to life in New England, which is its province if properly used ; and which, if improperly used, emasculates a nation. Let New England continue to chase the prizes of material good, and wrangle over the doctrines of "Free Will and Foreknowledge absolute," rather than to waste her best men, and undermine her strength, in a reckless devotion to Art. The fine things of life must not be thrown about lavishly ; whoever, therefore, demands that life shall be an alternation of Excitement and Sentiment, will be sure to suffer disappointment, and spend his years in sickly regrets.

Art has its mission of grace and beauty to New England yet to be fulfilled, but it is not to engross life, nor to banish duty.

When judging of the character and conduct of the settlers in New England, none should forget how small a proportion of all who came over, were really Puritans ; not more than one quarter belonged to their Churches, while of those outside the Churches, many were base and grovel-

ing. But for the doings of all, the true Puritans, who walked in the fear of God, have been held responsible.

Looking, therefore, at Civilization in New England, we see a people, beginning without Aristocratic or Hierarchical institutions, with no forms in State or Church. We see the leading men among them, educated, and honorable ; the working men, devoted to agriculture, and owners of the soil. We see the leading men resisting the incoming of a State Church, persistently opposing a distant and domineering court ; and singularly enough, through nigh two centuries of savage and civilized warfare, steadily refusing to organize a standing army. The people, the Commonalty, day by day, educated themselves in self-government, until in this present time, Governors, there, are simply lay-figures for show-days.

Throughout New England, what presents itself to the traveler and student ?

The rough country is cultivated to the hill-tops ; white and neat farm-houses dot the landscape ; and towns and villages, mills and factories, tell of a thriving people. Every man reads his newspaper, and pauperism, drunkenness, filth, and dilapidation, nowhere abound. The land is poor ; but the people are industrious and frugal, and COMFORT prevails. Money is hardly got and carefully spent ; and no man lavishes it, or lends it, except upon the best security ; yet in no country is there such a constant contribution for the relief of suffering, or the cure of ignorance ; nowhere will men more quickly risk life and health to serve a fellow.

There has been no Aristocracy in New England (if we except the Ministers), and consequently no inferior or degraded Class. Negro slavery crept in, but was contrary to the genius and principles of society, and was banished as soon as the MIND of the people grappled with it.

It is WORK which has made New England—honest, hard work.

An idea still exists, that the Puritans were all base-

born and ignorant men. Beside the names of Hampden and Vane, Say and Brook, Pym and Milton, who favored the New England Colonies, we find a long list of the most active, and intelligent, and honorable men of England, fully enlisted in forwarding the New Puritan settlements. Among these were Captain Venn, Leader of the London Train-bands ; Samuel Hewson, one of Cromwell's most active and able supporters ; Samuel Vassal, an eminent merchant, and member of the Long Parliament, and the man who was fined and imprisoned before Hampden for refusing to pay the ship money ; Thomas Andrews, afterward Lord Mayor of London ; Owen Rowe, a London merchant, called by the King's party, "the Fire-brand of the City ;" John White, a leading Lawyer there ; and many more of the most active Commonwealth men, were among the founders and supporters of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They would have come to America, had not the turn of events enabled them to make head against tyranny at home.¹

Among those who came over, were some of the best scholars and most accomplished men of England ; and it is mainly to their nobleness and wisdom, that New England owes her good start in the History of Nations. The hard business of a pioneer life, in which man was fighting for existence against a sterile soil and winter climate, left little time for those studies and refinements, which grow up in the midst of leisure and ease. The immediate descendants of the pioneer Puritans, were therefore inferior to their fathers, in the arts and graces of a well-settled society. Yet they had the same good elements, and they grew strong and vigorous ; and before the lapse of two centuries, New England had nourished at her breasts as Noble men as any, of whom she may well be proud.

The poverty of the country is great, which is apt to induce a small, and pains-taking, and over-cautious habit of life ; and the tone of society is not large and generous,

¹ See S. F. Haven's Intro. to Mass. Colony Records.

as travelers are apt to see, and to notice in their books. Meanness of spirit is certainly to be regretted, and to be fled from ; but he who flies from New England in search of Paradise, will probably compass the earth and come back to New England without having found it. Men and women, there as elsewhere, ought to be open-minded and open-hearted ; but they do well to avoid the loose and lavish habits of courtly people, when indulged at the cost of honor, and conscience, and comfort. Let every nation make the most of its virtues, and repel its vices without delay. Let every man enjoy all the good wherever he is, and learn quickly that all people and all nations have their good side, which he will try to appreciate, if he is not a fool.

Of WOMAN, the Muse of History has had little to say. In the lapse of centuries, some Boadicea, Mary, Queen of Scots, Cunegunde, or Catherine de Medicis, appears on her pictured page ; but too often in the trailing garments of sorrow, or the blood-stained mantle of crime. Of the thousands who have lived and died, angels of mercy and examples of endurance, she says no word. The life of every man and woman makes up all history ; but to those individuals only, who by chance, have done some peculiar good, some startling deed, or some stupendous crime, can history allot any space. We are apt, therefore, to overlook the valiant, unobtrusive lives, of those whose good deeds have blessed their fellows, as truly as those of some Napoleon or Pierce have cursed them.

New England history mentions the names of few women ; Rose Standish, Dorothy Bradford, Anne Eliot, Arbella Johnson, Anne Hutchinson, Mary Dyer, Anne Bradstreet, and Mary Rowlandson, these and a few others have been preserved. But we are not to forget the thousands beside, who left the security and comfort of homes in England, to brave the stormy ocean, to land on these bleak wild shores, to front the miseries and trials of a pioneer life, and sink into untimely graves, as so many did. These were the

martyrs, who laid down their lives for freedom and for us; to them, therefore, let us uncover our heads.

The Women of New England were truly helps-meet for men; they bore fully their share of labors and trials. They were the housewives, spinners and weavers, tailors, nurses, and doctors, of New England; they were dairy-maids and cooks, as well as friends and sweethearts, "in the good old colony times." They kept the gardens, where beds of herbs ripened "for sickness," where roses and hollyhocks opened for beauty. They studied the weather and the almanac, and were wise to predict, that if the moon's horns dipped, we should have rain; if the moon changed on Friday, it would rain on Sunday. But the weather went its way then as now, and the best of signs often failed.

In New England, women were never made the slaves, or inferiors of men; they were co-equal in social life, and held a position superior to that held by them in England. Society did not then, however, recognize their political rights, and it does not yet, there or elsewhere; their right to own property is now generally allowed.

There were few books in New England once, and women got knowledge by word of mouth—they do it still.

There seems to have existed a surprising and unnatural development of that peculiar and delightful organ—the tongue; for we find included in the earliest and most important laws in Rhode Island, and other colonies, this one:

"It is ordered, Common Scolds shall be punished by the Ducking Stool."

We can only infer, that there were women then who were a public nuisance, and are lost in wonder; the historian commends the fact to the notice of those, who are regretting that they do not live in those "good old times."

Young, unmarried women, however beautiful or accomplished, were known under the singular generic name of "gals," and it is yet a common title. It seems to be a corruption of the word Girl, and a singularly inveterate

one. Fathers were in the habit of saying, "my gals"—and sweethearts spoke of blushing maidens in the same way, as "my gal." It certainly fails to impress one, in this day, as elegant or necessary.

We know (for the New England Records tell us how Haniel Bosworth's daughter was fined 5s. for wearing silk) that brocades rustled then as finely as they do now, that hoops amplified the lower parts, and that stays made strange work with the bodies of women ; and we also know that some deacons' wives were as bad as any other.

The high tone and godly intent of the first planters, fell off, and was bitterly lamented by some, and at large in "Old Men's Tears for their own Declensions."¹

"What is become of the primitive zeal, piety, and holy heat?" he asks. "Their daily care of reading and instructing their families from the Scriptures, their strict keeping of Sabbaths, their charity and *bowels* to each other?—alas, alas—

"Their soul-lively Thirstings and Pantings after God and his Ways, Metemorphosed into Land and Trade breathings." "Their old Puritan garb—lost and ridiculed, into strange and fantastick Fashions and Attire. Naked Backs and Bare Breasts and Forehead, if not of the Whorish Woman, yet so like unto it. The Virgin's Dress and Matron's Veil, showing their power on the head, because of the holy Angels, turned into powdered Foretops and topgallant's attire, not becoming the Christian but the Comedian Assembly, not the Church but the Stage Play, where the Devil sits Regent in his Dominion." To that pass had the people come in the year of our Lord, 1691—and no woman could escape.

The voice of Love, too, was heard in New England ; whispering even among the clergy—tenderly and quaintly.

Minister Clap, in his private diary,² speaks of his wife as follows :

"She exceeded all persons that ever I saw, in a most

¹ London, 1691.

² MS. Diary.

serene, pleasant, and excellent Temper and Disposition, which rendered her very agreeable and Lovely to me, and all that were acquainted with her. I lived with her in the house near eleven years, and she was my wife almost nine, and I never once saw her in any unpleasant temper. Indeed I took great pleasure in pleasing her in every thing which I tho't I conveniently could ; and if she erred in any thing of that nature, it was Sometimes in not insisting upon her own Inclination so much as a Wife may modestly do." When she died, he mourned for her sincerely, and in his diary is a copy of verses from Dr. Watts, full of tenderness and love ; a single verse is—

"I was all Love, and She was all Delight;
Let me run back to Seasons past;
Ah! Flowery days when first she charmed my sight,
But Roses will not always last."

Afterward, when he concludes to marry again, he prays long to the "Eternal, Most Glorious, and Blessed God," and in his prayer he says :—

"And if it be thy Holy Will and Pleasure, I intreat thou wouldst bestow upon me one who is of a Healthy Constitution, Chaste, Diligent, Prudent, Grave and Cheerful—one who is descended from Credible Parents, who has been well educated in the Principles of Religion, Virtue, Industry, and Decent Behavior. And may be the Desire of mine Eye, as well as the Delight of my Heart," * * "I would wrestle with thee until Break of Day will not let me go, except thou bless me. Lord, thou Knowest my Temper and Disposition, and seest how necessarily hard it would be to me to be joyned to a *Disagreeable Consort*. Thou hast been pleased in thy Holy and Sovereign Will and Pleasure to Deprive me of a most Dear and Pleasant Consort, in which I took a Peculiar Delight and Satisfaction ; and if thou shouldst now Permit me to be joyned to a Disagreeable one, it would be hard for my Nature to bear. Lord, I humbly beg that

of thine Infinite goodness thou wouldst have Mercy and Compassion in this Respect."

He afterward married Mrs. Mary Saltonstall, but how far she answered his prayer the Journal does not say.

A Love-Letter of 1674 presents a picture of the times :

"This for my friend and only beloved Miss Elizabeth Fitch, at her father's house in Norwich.

"WESTFIELD, 8 day of 7th month, 1674.

"MY DOVE—I send you not my heart, for that I trust is sent to Heaven long since, and unless it hath wofully deceived me, it hath not taken up its lodgings in any one's bosom on this side the Royal City of the Great King ; but yet the most of it that is to be layed out upon any creature, doth safely and singly fall to your share.

"So much my post-pigeon presents you with here in these lines. Look not I intreat you upon it as one of Love's hyperboles, if I borrow the beams of some sparkling metaphor to illustrate my respects unto thyself by it, for you having made my breast the cabinet of your affections, as I yours mine, I know not how to offer a little comparison to set out my love by than to compare it unto a golden ball of pure fire, rolling up and down my breast, from which there flies now and then a spark like a glorious beam from the body of the flaming sun. But alas ! striving to catch these sparks into a love-letter unto yourself, and to gild it, with them as with a sunbeam, I find that by what time they have fallen through my pen, they have lost their shine, and fall only like a little smoke thereon, instead of gilding them, wherefore," etc., etc., ending off in a long stream of conjugal love and theology.¹

Consider what the sermons of the Rev. Mr. Taylor must have been, if such was his love-letter ; yet his "Dove" married him, with good results.

¹ Calkins's Norwich.

REBECCA
RAWSON.

But the course of true Love did not run smooth even in New England. Rebecca Rawson was the handsome and lovely daughter of Edward Rawson, Secretary of Massachusetts. She was wooed away from her country lover by a gallant young gentleman from England, who was, he said, Sir Thomas Hale, nephew of the Lord Chief Justice of England. The fine clothes, fine manners, and fine voice of Sir Thomas, were too much for the soft heart of Rebecca, and she married him; as Whittier has so well told in his charming "Margaret Smith's Diary."

But after Love-making came Life. She went with him to England; there the mean creature robbed and abandoned her, and she never saw him more. For thirteen years she supported herself and her child by the work of her hands; and then the love of home proved stronger than mortified pride, and she sailed for Boston by way of the West Indies. There the ship was swallowed in an earthquake (1692), and the sad story of Rebecca Rawson ended.

The case of Polly Baker, of Connecticut, was more curious. She was handsome, and pleasing, and was wooed and won by the son of a Magistrate. She was seduced and deserted; and when her child was born, was punished; at various times she was whipped, fined, and imprisoned. Once she spoke to the Court, in a very clear and remarkable manner. Among other things, she said, "I have always led an inoffensive life in the neighborhood, where I was born. I defy my enemies (if I have any), to say that I ever wronged man, woman, or child. I can not conceive my offense to be of so unpardonable a nature as the law considers it.

"I never refused an offer of the sort (marriage), on the contrary, I readily consented to the only offer of marriage that ever was made me.

"I have deluded no young men, nor seduced away any woman's husband. I can not look upon my offense as you do.

“ You have already excluded me from the Communion ! You believe I have offended Heaven, and shall suffer everlastingly ! Why then will you increase my misery, by additional fines and whippings ?

“ Compel them (the Bachelors) either to marry, or to pay double fines. What must poor young women, do ? Custom forbids their making overtures to men ; they can not, however heartily they wish it, marry when they please.”

The Court discharged her without punishment for that time, the lawyers made her presents, and her seducer afterward married her.¹

But there were wags and wits in those days, among whom was young Ben. Franklin, of Boston ; and woman was the theme, as appears by the following extract.

“ ON SYLVIA THE FAIR.—A JINGLE.

“ A Swarm of Sparks, young, gay, and bold,
Lov'd *Sylvia* long, but she was cold ;
Int'rest and Pride the Nymph control'd,
So they in vain their Passion told.
At last came Dulman, he was old,
Nay, he was ugly, but had Gold,
He came, and saw, and took the Hold,
While t'other Beaux their Loss Consol'd.
Some say, she's Wed ; I say she's Sold.”²

Speculating fops are thus hit off, in the *Courant*, of January 29, 1722 :

“ ADVERTISEMENT.

“ SEVERAL Journeymen Gentlemen (some Foreigners, and others of our Own Growth), never sully'd with Business, and fit for Town or Country Diversion, are willing to dispose of themselves in Marriage, as follows, viz. : Some to old Virgins, who, by long Industry, have laid up

¹ Eccentric Biography, or Memoirs of Remarkable Female Characters. Worcester. 1804.

² From James Franklin's *N. E. Courant*, December 11, 1721.

£500, or proved themselves capable of maintaining a husband in a genteel and commendable Idleness. Some to old or young Widows, who have Estates of their first husband's getting, to dispose of at their second husband's pleasure. And some to young Ladies, under age, who have their Fortunes in their own Hands, and are willing to maintain a pretty, genteel Man, rather than be without him.

“N. B. The above Gentlemen may be spoke with almost any hour in the day, at the TICK-TAVERN, in Prodigal Square, and will proceed to Courtship as soon as their Mistresses shall pay their Tavern Score.”

Hortensia also writes, complaining that her Husband is “perpetually at the Taverns, sotting and drinking Flip, and setting people at Variance.”

We find that when Tea came into use (about 1720), it soon became fashionable; and the pride of a good housewife was gratified when her “Tea Equipage” was of silver, and glittered in the eyes of her neighbors and friends. In a facetious bill of 1722, “A Tea table with its equipage, Sugar, Tea, &c.,” is set down at £157 3 11, which seems a large figure.¹ The consumption of tea increased remarkably, and before the Revolution its use had become so strong a habit, that it was not easy to relinquish it. But when the day of trial came, the courage of New England women showed itself. The mistresses of 300 families (1770) set their hands to an agreement that they “would totally abstain from the use of Tea” till the Revenue acts were repealed. The young ladies followed their example, as the following shows :

“BOSTON, *February* 12, 1770.

“We, The daughters of those patriots who have, and do now appear for the public interest, and in that principally regard their posterity,—as such do with pleasure engage with them in denying ourselves the drinking of

¹ N. E. Courant.

foreign tea, in hopes to frustrate a plan that tends to deprive the whole community of all that is valuable in life."¹

This was signed by multitudes, and their example was followed all over New England, so that those who drank tea did it secretly, and were ashamed.

But the Heroic character of New England women was shown in the long Century of Border wars, when armed Bands of Indians and French prowled around every hamlet. Women are now easily dissolved in tears ; women then put muskets into the hands of fathers, husbands, and sons, and said, "Go forth and conquer or die." To this class belonged the wives of Putnam and Stark ; who if not fine, were strong. But Indian wars were followed by the long Revolutionary struggle, in which also the women showed a heroic spirit, equal if not superior to that of the men.

The CHILDREN probably had as poor a time as any portion of the people, for the prevailing principles did not favor too much gayety. Besides the Catechisms, which were apt to prove indigestible to children, there was an infinite quantity of work to be done, and both women and children were required to do their share. To the latter fell a class of work known by the Saxon word "Chores ;" and these chores they were deputed to do, morning and night, beside their school duty : they consisted of bringing in the wood, feeding and milking the cow, taking her to and from pasture, picking up chips, making snow-paths, going of innumerable "arrants," carrying cold victuals to the poor, and so on, the odds and ends of daily life. This early inured children to the responsibility of life ; and although it made them old before their time, it guarded them from that levity and recklessness which has ruined many a fine promise, and wrecked many a high hope. There is much truth in the fine old verse,

¹ Traits of the Tea-party.

"All work and no play
Makes Jack a dull boy;
But all play and no work,
Makes him a mere toy."

So that Child-life of New England had its good side; and many a hearty and genial and generous man has grown out of these "Chore boys."

Men and women in New England, were as men and women are elsewhere. Like Shakspeare's Jew, if pricked, they bled; if tickled, they laughed. The same inherent quality, implanted in the first man, exists in all men, and is God-derived. Creation is always perfect, adapted to its uses, and man is not an exception. Through ignorance and willfulness, and because he is a creature of Reason, not of Instinct, man has violated the laws of health and life, and has fallen away from the standard of creation. Starting with a complex, but perfect body, he has violated Law, and deranged the harmonious action of his susceptible structure. The body, therefore, has lost beauty and health. Mind and soul being congenial with body and like it, created by a great God to work together, with it have suffered the derangement consequent upon violation of Law. This falling away from the standard, has occurred first in the Individual, and then in the Race; the virtue of creation still remains, but the sins of the fathers have descended to the children.

We see how man, having lost the unconscious beauty and health of childhood, the instinctive perception of truth and goodness, the undoubting faith of ignorance, is therefore no longer acting harmoniously, and suffers many and strange torments. Having left the unreasoning faith and purity of childhood, he now seeks, through experience, and trial, and doubt, and confusion, to learn the laws of God, through obedience to which, Body, Mind, and Soul, may again be restored to health and beauty. Slowly he learns those laws, and painfully, step by step, he retraces the height from which he has descended. Life is the

schoolmaster, and suffering is his whip ; and each individual is asking now, " How shall I regain health, and perfectness, and satisfaction ?" " How shall I be saved ?" And as the Individual improves, so will the Race. Man thus proceeds from *ignorance* and purity, through experience, and reason, and suffering, toward KNOWLEDGE and purity. In the beginning, he was the child of sensation ; in the end, he shall be the man of knowledge. Once he might say, " I feel, and am satisfied ;" then he shall say, " I KNOW, and am blessed."

This struggle, to regain material, and mental, and spiritual good, went on well in New England ; and character was modified by peculiar causes—by climate, and by freedom, and by beliefs.

Brains are active there, and the nervous energy of the people is great. Faces are sharp, and bodies lean. They have a turn for discussion, and fear to meet no man—not the Minister in his pulpit, nor the King on his throne. All problems are open, and men discuss and decide them. Every kind of dogma is believed, and denied, in New England. Action, too, is free, and the people flow like water into all channels. They overrun America, and they sail on every sea. We meet them on the heights of the Himalayas, and in the waters of the Amazon. They search for gold in California, and preach the Gospel to Dyacks of the Indian Seas. They explore the clouds and train the lightning, and they chase the whale under the icebergs to the depths of the deep. They out-Herod aristocrats in their own courts, and buy up the art of Italy by quantity. They build the ships of the Sultan and the locomotives of the Czar. They invent and re-invent, and their iron machines, thousand-handed, seize upon the earth and its products, and vomit them out, wrought into shapely, and useful, and beautiful things, for man's use. They are a restless, driven people, and do every thing but Enjoy ; that they look forward to, but rarely reach.

New England, like the rest of the moving world, is now

harnessed to a machine, which produces material wealth ; but with the diffusion of physical comfort, man will learn, that work alone is not life, and that to Enjoy is as manly as to Do. Existence will yet be counted a blessing, and men will thank God for Life ; then we shall ask three questions :

What has a man done ?

What has he got ? and last, and greatest :

What is he ?

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNORS.

THEIR USES—SIR WILLIAM Phips—JOSEPH DUDLEY—BURNET—QUARREL ABOUT SALARIES—LIST OF MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNORS—THE CONNECTICUT GOVERNORS—HAYNES—WINTHEOP—LEETE—SALTONSTALL—TRUMBULL—"BROTHER JONATHAN"—THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GOVERNORS—THE WENTWORTHS—THE RHODE ISLAND GOVERNORS—HOPKINS—COOKE.

A SAGACIOUS Political writer has said : " A great part of the Order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of Government. It had its origin in the principles of Society, and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to Government, and would exist if the formality of Government was abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has in man, and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds them together." Governors and Kings are apt to forget this, and to assume that they are the strong horns upon which Society hangs. Governors are commonly a curse to a people, and their principal use, where monarchy prevails, is to collect the earnings of the people, and spend them in wicked wars, or idle shows. Up to the time of Andros, New England's Governors were chosen from among themselves, annually ; the interests of the people were their interests, and they were not a curse. Andros attempted the European plan of government, the essence of which is tyranny. He failed signally, and was driven out of New England. After his time, a new Charter was granted to Massachusetts, in which King William reserved to himself the appointment of Governor, while those of Connecticut and Rhode Island were elected under their old Charters, as before. A few of these

deserve a brief notice, beside what has been already given in the course of this History.

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, through the influence of Increase Mather, was appointed by King William first Governor of Massachusetts. The adventures of this boy—one of twenty-six children, born at Pemaquid in Maine—are singular, rather than remarkable. Untill he was eighteen years old, he was a good-for-nothing boy, fit to tend and shear sheep, which was his employment. Then he bound himself to a Ship Carpenter, and learned his trade ; he could at that time neither read nor write, but soon acquired these, and showed activity and energy. He succeeded in building a ship, and marrying a respectable young widow ; and then he followed the sea. Hearing of a rich Spanish wreck near the Bahama Banks, he went to England, and offered to go in search of it. Bold, free, and sanguine, he persuaded the Government to send him out in 1683 with two frigates. He did not then succeed ; but, not discouraged, he urged a second trial, and persuaded the Duke of Albemarle to fit him out. From this Expedition he returned successful, bringing £300,000 sterling, of which he received £16,000. He was Knighted, appointed High Sheriff of New England, and returned to Boston, where he built a splendid brick house. Cotton Mather, his Eulogist, loved to tell marvelous things, and, among others, how Phips had dreamed that he should do all this, when a poor boy on the Kennebeck, and that the dates were all correct. It would have been strange if he had not dreamt that, and a thousand other improbable things, as New England boys do now. He was too active and enterprising to stay long in Boston ; and when he returned to England, Increase Mather having obtained a new Charter, Phips was appointed the first Governor, and arrived in New England May 14, 1692.

He was tolerably acceptable to the people, for he was a blunt, open-handed man, vulgar and ostentatious, but not likely to do so much mischief as a schemer and states-

man. He was quick and passionate, and did not hesitate to make use of his strong body at times of excitement ; he differed of course with some of the other officers, and endeavored to bring them to a proper sense of their duty with his fists. Having attempted this with the Captain of a man of war, and with the Collector, he was complained of in England, and recalled to answer for it, where he died in 1694. Cotton Mather is at liberty to speak of him as "an Angel," "being dropped from the Machine of Heaven." It is only necessary to say, that Phips was a member of Mather's Church, and a ready tool of his in the Witchcraft Delusion at Salem.¹

After a fulsome eulogy and history, Mather describes Sir William Phips, as follows : "Reader, 'tis time for us to view a little more to the *life*, the *picture* of the person, the *actions* of whose *life* we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then for his *exterior*, he was one *tall*, beyond the common set of men, and *thick* as well as *tall*, and *strong* as well as *thick* ; he was in all things exceedingly *robust*, and able to conquer such difficulties of *diet*, and of *travel*, as would have killed most men alive ; nor did the *fat* whereinto he grew very much in his later years, take away the vigour of his motions."

JOSEPH DUDLEY was son of the old Governor, Thomas Dudley one of the first that settled Massachusetts Bay. Born in the Colony, educated at Harvard (1665), and imbued with the rigid, Puritan spirit of his father, it was to be expected that his sympathies and hopes would have been in harmony with the Colonists. But they were not, and for that reason, he calls for a brief notice. It must be remembered, that his father was possessed with a positive nature, tending strongly toward an arbitrary and vindictive spirit. Such men are apt to indulge an overweening self-confidence, which may degenerate into an unbridled will, and a contempt for others, particularly the weak in body and mind. This kind of man tends, by a sort of law

¹ Hutchinson. Eliot.

of nature, toward Aristocratic practices, and his sympathies are sure to be with the Aristocratic class, although he may not belong to it; and such seems to have been the case with Joseph Dudley. He early took sides with those who were for yielding up the privileges of the Charter; and, of course, was for making the Province more subject to the King. In 1686, he was appointed by the King, President of the Council, and put on the dignity, till the arrival of Andros, as Governor-General, in Dec. Under him, he was Chief-Justice of the Province; his sympathy and action, in concert with Andros and Randolph, in their arbitrary proceedings, disgusted the Colonists; so that he was identified with them, and on the overthrow of Andros (1689), was seized and confined in his own house, and treated harshly and contemptuously. This he never forgot, and from that time, he worked to strengthen the hands of the Court, against the liberties of the individual in the Colonies, and against the Charters. He received an appointment as Chief-Justice for the Province of New York, which proved unsatisfactory to him, and to the people there; so he devoted himself to undermining Governor Phips, and obtaining the post of Governor of Massachusetts. He succeeded at last, and in 1702, came over as Governor, and entered upon his duties and dignities, with industry and vigor. He steadily favored the Crown, and in 1705, united with Lord Cornbury, to break down the Connecticut Charter (which secured the choice of Governor to the people); but they were foiled, by the talent and determination of Sir Henry Ashurst. Dudley's administration, for some years, was stormy, for there was no agreement between him and the people, and it was not till these quarrels spent themselves, that his best qualities appeared; then his ambition was satisfied, and his engaging manners, steady industry, and good abilities, commended him to some of the best men in the Colony. Hutchinson very neatly sums up in this way, "I think it is no more than justice to his Character, to allow that he

had as many virtues as consist with so great a thirst for honor and power."

That he was a politician, and time-serving enough, is evident, in that Randolph, who used him and whom he used, speaks of him in these two ways. "Opposed to the faction" (the people's party), and again as "a man of a base, servile, anti-monarchical, principle." He worked for place and power, and he got them; but he has not the respect of good men.

GOVERNOR BURNET, was the son of Bishop Burnet, the staunch friend of William III. Through his father's influence, he was made Governor of Massachusetts, and much to his regret, removed from that of New York. He was engaged in a continued quarrel with the Massachusetts Assembly, about his salary, which they refused to fix as he desired. He seems, also, to have been of a much more free, liberal way, than was popular, in Massachusetts; and when consulted about grace before or after meat, replied, "Any way, or no way, as you please." He was a large, handsome man, a kind eminently fitted to be looked at, on State occasions.

Through the administrations of Dudley, Shute, Burnet, Belcher, Shirley, and Pownall, down to the eve of the Revolution, a violent quarrel was kept alive between the Deputies of the people, on one side, and the King's Governors on the other. The Governors cared only for themselves, and demanded liberal salaries. The people would have been glad to be rid of them, and doled out their money very sparingly. They made them grants or gratuities, from year to year, but would never have a stated salary buckled to their backs. This troubled the pockets as well as the dignity of the Governors, and led to crimination and recrimination, very disagreeable, and often absurd. But it taught the people of Massachusetts a great lesson—that they and no one else should say what should be done with their money. The King could send over his officials, certainly, but whether they would pay them or not, they would decide for themselves; and they always did. Pomp and State-show were then popular with Gov-

ernors, and have not yet lost their charm. Processions and cavalcades opened the General Courts, and inaugurated great occasions ; and a great virtue in a Governor was to carry himself with a "fine Port," and clothe his brows with the majesty of Law. Mather Byles, in his witty way, thus gives an Irish account of one of these doings.

"Dear Paddy, you ne'er did behold such a sight,
As yesterday morning was seen before night;
You in all your born days saw, nor I did n't neither,
So many fine horses and men ride together.
At the head the lower house trotted two in a row,
Then all the higher house pranced after the low ;
Then the Governour's coach gallop'd on like the wind,
And the last that came foremost were troopers behind:
But I fear it means no good to your neck or mine,
For they say 't is 'to fix a right place for the line.' " ¹

The Plymouth Governors have been noticed elsewhere.

A LIST OF GOVERNORS AND COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF IN
MASSACHUSETTS AND PLYMOUTH.²

(THE YEAR BEGINS IN JANUARY.)

KINGS OF ENGLAND.	Governors of Massachusetts under the 1st Charter, chosen annually by the people.	Governors of Plymouth, chosen annually by the people.
1603. James I.	1630. John Winthrop.	1620. John Carver.
1625. Charles I.	1634. Thomas Dudley	1621. William Bradford.
	1635. John Haynes.	1633. Edward Winslow.
	1636. Henry Vane.	1634. Tho. Prince.
	1637. John Winthrop.	1635. William Bradford.
	1640. Thomas Dudley.	1636. Edward Winslow.
	1641. Richard Bellingham.	1637. William Bradford.
	1642. John Winthrop.	1638. Tho. Prince.
	1644. John Endicott.	1639. Wm. Bradford.
	1645. Thomas Dudley.	1644. Edward Winslow.
	1646. John Winthrop.	1645. Wm. Bradford.
1649. The Commonwealth.	1649. John Endicott.	
1654. Oliver Cromwell.	1654. Richard Bellingham.	
	1655. John Endicott.	
1658. Richard Cromwell.	1655. Richard Bellingham.	1657. Tho. Prince.
1660. Charles II.	1673. John Leverett.	1673. Josias Winslow.
	1679. Simon Bradstreet.	
1685. James II.	<i>First Charter dissolved by the King.</i>	1680. Thos. Hinckley, who held his place, except in the time of Andross, till the junction with Massachusetts, in 1692.
	1686. Joseph Dudley, <i>Prest.</i>	
	1687. Sir Ed. Andross, Gov.	
1689. William and Mary.	1689. Sir Edmund Andross deposed by the people, and Simon Bradstreet elected Governor.	

¹ Line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Farmers Belknap, N.H.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii.

GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS UNDER THE SECOND
CHARTER, APPOINTED BY THE KING.

KINGS.	
1694. William III.	1692. Sir William Phips. 1694. William Stoughton, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1699. Earl of Bellamont. 1700. William Stoughton, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1702. <i>May</i> . The Council. Joseph Dudley.
1702. Anne,	1714. <i>Feb</i> . The Council. <i>Mar</i> . Joseph Dudley.
1714. George I.	1715. William Taller, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1716. Samuel Shute. 1723. William Dummer, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1728. William Burnet. 1729. William Dummer, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1730. William Taller, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . Jonathan Belcher.
1727. George II.	1741. William Shirley. 1749. Spencer Phips, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1753. William Shirley. 1756. Spencer Phips, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1757. <i>April</i> . The Council. Thomas Pownal.
1760. George III.	1760. Thomas Hutchinson, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1760. Francis Bernard. 1770. Thomas Hutchinson, <i>Lieutenant Governor</i> . 1771. Thomas Hutchinson. 1774. Thomas Gage. <i>Oct</i> . A Provincial Congress.
Since the Revolution.	1775. <i>July</i> . The Council.

THE CON-
NECTICUT
GOVERNORS.

GOVERNOR HAYNES was the strongest man in the first company that settled Connecticut. He was remarkable for ability, courage, and conscience ; and soon saw the mistake of the Massachusetts men in introducing force in Religion. In this respect he was superior to Governor Winthrop. Church Membership was not a condition of Citizenship in Connecticut. As long as John Haynes lived he retained his post and his popularity, and died in the service of his fellow-citizens.

Of those who followed, John Winthrop 2d, William Leete and Gurdon Saltonstall, belong to the race of Strong and Able men. They could not be time-serving politicians, nor, indeed, was that class then wanted in Connecticut.

In Governor Wolcott's poetical account of Governor Winthrop's obtaining the Connecticut Charter, he thus speaks of him, in what passed then for poetry :

" His mind, vast as the heavenly spheres above,
Was all bespangled with the stars of love,

And zealous care for their prosperity
 Of all his acts the primum mobile ;
 Led on by these bright stars' kind influence,
 He hastens to the palace of his prince ;
 Then, waiting for an opportunity," etc.

* * * * *

*' Let him come in, says Charles, and let us hear
 What has been done, and what's a-doing there."*

And so on, a long discourse or colloquy, very quaint and very tedious.

WILLIAM LEETE was one of the founders of Guilford ; a man of strict integrity and practical wisdom. Bred a lawyer in England, he was employed there in the Bishop's Court, till his Puritanism drove him away. While Governor of New Haven Colony, he declined to obey the orders of the King to return the Regicides, and would have no hand in encouraging the hunting of fugitives on the soil of New Haven. The Law was against him, but the Right was with him ; and most men praise him now for following the latter. The place-holders cried out against both him and Davenport, and declared that disorder and destruction would ensue : they were mistaken, and posterity applauds Governor Leete and Minister Davenport. He appears to have been a sound-minded, clear-headed, and brave-hearted man, one of the best of a breed that exists in New England.

GURDON SALTONSTALL was elected Governor of Connecticut from 1707 to 1724, when he died. It is well enough to know that he was transferred from the pulpit to the civic chair, and was strongly sustained by the Clergy through his long term of office. To him mainly was owing the establishment of the Saybrook Platform, which tended to unite the Independent Churches into a kind of Presbytery. It is told how one of his waggish neighbors was applied to by a traveling tinker for a job. Not having any thing to mend, he said, " I have nothing, but I advise you to go to neighbor Saltonstall, who has a ' Saybrook Platform,' which needs tinkering badly." He

went, but he got no job there. Saltonstall was a College-bred man (from Harvard), and was superior to most for his practical political sagacity. He enjoyed his own dignity, and wore it well. When Rector Cutler and Mr. Johnson went from Congregationalism to Episcopacy, Saltonstall took up the cudgels, and held a public disputation with the Rector at New Haven, and "clearly confuted him," as his *own* party testified. However, it did not change Cutler's purpose. Saltonstall was a determined, hot man, with power to enforce his will ; but he appears to have been in good control, and was a safe Governor.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL was annually chosen for fourteen years ; and through the most trying period of Connecticut History, his administration was remarkable for the wisdom of its counsels, the boldness of its acts, and its unflinching devotion to the cause of Liberty and Independence. No man was more staunch through all than Governor Trumbull, and to him Washington constantly looked for counsel, and for material aid. The generic name by which we are known, is said to have had its origin in a phrase which Washington sometimes used, when in doubt and perplexity : "Let us hear what *Brother Jonathan* says." And no two men did more to make the name of "Brother Jonathan" honored and respected, than George Washington and Jonathan Trumbull. Upon Governor Trumbull's death, Washington wrote to one of his sons : "Under this loss, however, great as your pangs may have been at the first shock, you have every thing to console you. A long and well-spent life in the service of his country, placed Governor Trumbull among the first of patriots ; in the social duties he yielded to none, and his lamp, from the common course of nature, being nearly extinguished, being worn down with age and cares, but retaining his mental faculties in perfection, are blessings which attend rarely his advanced life. All these combining, have secured to

his memory universal respect here, and no doubt increasing happiness hereafter."

He died in 1785, being 74 years old.

NEW HAVEN GOVERNORS.

1638. New Haven chose no Governor first year.

Theophilus Eaton,	. . . . .	1639
Francis Newman,	. . . . .	1658
William Leete,	. . . . .	1661

CONNECTICUT GOVERNORS.

1636 to 1639, no Governor was chosen in Connecticut.

John Haynes, and	} alternately, from 1639 to . .	1654
Edward Hopkins,		
Edward Hopkins,	. . . . .	1654
Thomas Welles,	. . . . .	1655
John Webster,	. . . . .	1656
Thomas Welles,	. . . . .	1658
John Winthrop,	. . . . .	1659
Union of Colonies of Connecticut and New Hampshire,		
John Winthrop, Governor,	. . . . .	1665
William Leete,	. . . . .	1676
Robert Treat,	. . . . .	1683
<i>Quo Warranto</i> against the Charter,	. . . . .	1686
Sir Edmund Andross,	. . . . .	1687
Robert Treat (resumes the Government),	. . . . .	1689
Fitz John Winthrop,	. . . . .	1698
Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall,	. . . . .	1707
Joseph Talcott,	. . . . .	1724
Jonathan Law,	. . . . .	1741
Roger Wolcott,	. . . . .	1750
Thomas Fitch,	. . . . .	1754
William Pitkin,	. . . . .	1766
Jonathan Trumbull, 1769, to	. . . . .	1783 ¹

Before the Revolution, the name of Wentworth was the first in New Hampshire.

BENNING WENTWORTH, who graduated at Harvard, early engaged in trade. When in London, he solicited and obtained the Governorship of New Hampshire, which position he held from 1741 till 1767, when his nephew John Wentworth succeeded him. Dur-

THE NEW
HAMPSHIRE
GOVERNORS.

¹ Trumbull's History.

ing all that period he was without a rival, and his strong and sharp judgments were not softened by the possession of power.

It was during his time that the "New Hampshire Grants" in Vermont were made; and Bennington was named in his honor. He was a strong "Churchman," and reserved in every grant a share of lands for the propagation of the Gospel, which, however, failed to benefit the Episcopal Church. He enriched himself while in the office, and did not willingly transfer the power to his nephew.

John Wentworth, who succeeded him, sympathized with the powers that appointed him, and was a good Governor, though he acted with the Tories; when the outbreak came, he left the country with them, and disappeared from History.

New Hampshire made into a Royal Province, 1680.

John Cutt, President,	1680
Richard Waldron, President,	1681
Edward Cranfield, Governor,	1682
Sir Edmund Andross, Governor of all New England, .	1686
Temporary Union with Massachusetts,	1690
Samuel Allen, Governor, }	1692
John Usher, Lieutenant-Governor, }	
William Partridge, "	1697
Governor Allen arrived in New Hampshire,	1698
The Earl of Bellamont, Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire,	1699

From this time, till 1741, the Governor of Massachusetts was the Governor of New Hampshire.

William Partridge, Lieutenant-Governor,	1699
John Usher, "	1703
George Vaughan, "	1715
John Wentworth, "	1717, to 1729
David Dunbar, "	1731
boundaries settled, and New Hampshire made a distinct Province,	1740
Benning Wentworth, Governor,	1741
John Wentworth, "	1766 ¹

¹ Barstow's New Hampshire. Concord, 1842.

Of the Rhode Island Governors no two deserve our gratitude more than STEPHEN HOPKINS and NICHOLAS COOKE. The former was one of the steadiest and boldest advocates of the people, against the claims of the Crown. He marched in the front rank with Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, and Patrick Henry, and signed his name to the Declaration of Independence with a trembling hand, but with a bold heart.

THE RHODE
ISLAND
GOVERNORS.

Governor Cooke went hand in hand with Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, in providing troops, stores, and vessels to carry on the war against the English Government and the Tories, and General Washington depended upon these two as his most efficient supporters, when all else failed him.

RHODE ISLAND GOVERNORS.¹

Roger Williams, principal leader at Providence, . .	1636
William Coddington, Judge at Rhode Island, . .	1638

After the Charter,

John Coggeshall,	1647
Roger Williams,	1648 & 54
John Smith,	1649
Nicholas Easton,	1650
Gregory Dexter,	1653
Benedict Arnold,	1657
William Brenton,	1660
William Coddington,	1674
Walter Clarke,	1676
John Cranston,	1678
Peleg Sandford,	1680
William Coddington,	1683
Henry Bull,	1685
John Easton,	1690
Caleb Carr,	1695
Samuel Cranston,	1698
Joseph Jencks,	1727
William Wanton,	1732

¹ Backus's Hist.

John Wanton,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1734
Richard Ward,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1741
William Greene,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1743
Gideon Wanton,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1745
Stephen Hopkins,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1755
Samuel Ward,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1762
Josias Lyndon,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1769
Joseph Wanton,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1770
Nicholas Cooke,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1775

CHAPTER III.

THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

SPIRITS IN THE YEAR 1692.

EPIDEMICS—MATTHEW HOPKINS—WITCHES HUNG IN ENGLAND—SIR MATTHEW HALE—SWEDISH WITCHES—70 EXECUTED—PANIC—SUPERNATURALISM—COTTON MATHER—WITCHES AND WITCH STORIES—JOHN GOODWIN'S CHILDREN—SALEM—PARRIS'S CHILDREN BEWITCHED—THE MINISTERS CONVOKED—TITUBA THE WITCH—THE JAILS FULL—BRIDGET BISHOP HANGED—SPECIAL BENCH OF JUDGES—FIVE HANGED—REVEREND GEORGE BURROUGHS—FIVE MORE HANGED—SIX MORE CONDEMNED—NINE MORE—CORY PRESSED TO DEATH—EIGHT MORE HANGED—200 ACCUSED—AT ANDOVER—THE QUALITY ACCUSED—JAIL DELIVERY—SUBSIDING—LEADING QUESTIONS—THE CONFESSORS—SADDUCEISM—GLAEING INJUSTICE—ACCIDENT AND DELUSION—REPENTANCE TOO LATE.

It is a singular fact, in the History of the cautious, sensible people of New England, that they yielded themselves to strong excitement ; and that EPIDEMICS of feeling or fear have swept over that land. The routine of hard-working, every-day life is dull, and becomes unbearable, and man greedily catches at the chance for variety and excitement. These excitements invariably produce mischief, and sound-minded people have not been able to check them.

But these Epidemics have not been confined to New England. Wherever men have persisted in prying into the Secrets of "another world," they have been open to delusion and craft ; and have been bewildered with notions about witches and spirits, and some are to this day.

Through the years 1644, '5 and '6, Matthew Hopkins, with his two assistants, traveled through England as "The Witch-finder," going from town to town, and, for a small fee, searching out witches ; the prisons were soon filled with old women ; unhappy, diseased people, whose

faults of temper had made them disagreeable to their neighbors, and led to the suspicion that they practiced witchcraft. The government felt itself obliged to send a special bench of Judges to dispose of them, with whom went Rev. Mr. Callamy, friend of Baxter. Fifteen of the accused were hanged at Chelmsford, sixteen at Yarmouth, sixty in Suffolk, and many more at various places.

Finally, the people became sick of the destruction, and then they mobbed Hopkins, and hunted him into obscurity.

In 1664, Sir Matthew Hale, sat to judge two old, feeble, soured women, for the crime of witchcraft. He was one of the wisest and most learned men in England, and believed in the teachings of Jesus. He refused to charge the Jury, as to the guilt of the parties, but said, that beyond doubt, witches did exist, as the Scriptures distinctly asserted it, and they had only to decide, whether these two were, or were not, witches. One of the first scholars in England, Sir Thomas Browne, agreed in this opinion.¹

In the town of Mohra, in Sweden, there was a Panic about Witches, in the year 1670. Seventy persons were brought before Commissioners, charged by scores of children, with having bewitched them. They all protested their innocence; but the Judges were earnest in urging them to confess, and twenty-three, with cries and tears, did confess, that they were Witches! Nearly all the seventy were executed. Fifteen children, also confessed they were witches, and were executed; and nigh fifty other children were condemned to be whipped; a part of them, on every Sunday in the year.²

No one now doubts, that the whole of these were victims of a delusion, and were sacrificed to the frightful PANIC of an ignorant and superstitious populace.

These preceded the Salem Witchcraft, which has so

¹ Godwin's *Lives of the Necromancers*. London, 1834. *Sorcery and Magic*, by T. Wright. London, 1851.

² Godwin and Granville's *Sadducismus Triumphans*. London, 1726.

often been urged, as a dark stain upon the New England people, and Theology ; and it is well, therefore, to note the fact, showing, as it does, with what fatal tenacity the notion of witchcraft held the minds of men. It should also be remembered, that in Scotland (1697), five years after the Salem doings, seven persons were hung for this • crime, upon the testimony of one child, only eleven years old '.

We come now to the years 1691-2.

The prevailing religious opinion of New England was strongly committed to the importance of the Devil, and his agents ; and his power was believed, by many, to be equal, if not superior, to that of God. This belief has always given singular importance to a Priesthood, who were supposed to be able to withstand, or cajole him ; and acting against him, the Clergy of New England were of consequence, in the eyes of the people, as well as in their own. The few who urged the Almighty power of God, and the certainty of Evil being overcome with Good, and resisted this belief, whether among the Clergy or laity, were easily silenced by the cry of Sadduceeism and infidelity, which was sprung upon them. Any kind of story, coming from any kind of poor creature, who claimed to have seen the Devil, or to have had strange and supernatural experience, was eagerly listened to, and rapidly passed from mouth to mouth. New England, at that time, was unfortunate in having among her Ministers a pedantic, painstaking, self-complacent, ill-balanced man, called Cotton Mather ; his great industry, and verbal learning, gave him undue currency, and his writings were much read. He was indefatigable in magnifying himself and his office ; he eagerly seized upon all witch stories, and hunted for them as for hid treasure, and elaborately presented them to the world. In an age when light reading consisted of polemical pamphlets, it is easy to see that his stories of "Margaret Rule's dire Afflictions,"¹ would find favor, and prepare the public mind for a stretch of credulity

¹ Memorable Providences (1689).

almost equal to his own. The pertinacity with which he pursued George Burroughs, and others, who were accused in this Panic, or who were suspected of Heresy, and the flattery with which he followed persons in power, will forbid us to defend him from the charge of slavishness and malignity, as well as of credulity. An infinite quantity of sermons and pamphlets, by this man, exist; but they do not clear him from the charge of having prostituted the noble office of a Christian Minister, to gratify his vanity, and to persecute to the death such as withstood him.

Before his day, Mary Oliver had confessed, that she was a witch (1650); Margaret Jones had been executed, as such, at Charlestown (1648), another at Dorchester, and another at Cambridge. In 1655, the Widow Hibbins, wife of a former Magistrate, had been hanged at Boston, "for having more wit than her neighbors," and one or two others had been put to death for Witchcraft, in other parts of New England. All these stories, and others, were widely circulated, and had their influence. English books upon the subject, such as Royal James I. (*A Royal fool's*) *Demonology*; Perkins's Book, containing Rules to find Witches; and Barnard's; Glanville's *Witch Stories*; the account of the Witch trials in England, in 1684; Baxter's *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, and other such writings, were not uncommon, and were much read. The pulpits, also, dwelt freely upon the Devil and his doings, and the fear of him was a powerful engine, used to revive the lessened influence of the Churches.

During King Philip's war, nothing was heard of witches, the public mind being fully occupied; but in the year 1688, the children of "John Goodwin, a grave man, and a good liver, in the north part of Boston, were believed to be bewitched." Mather at once took them in hand, and the eldest of them, to his own house; he found she was struck dead with the "Assembly's Catechism," "Cotton's Milk for Babes," and such like, but could read very well in Oxford jest-books, and even in the Prayer book; all of

which went for proof with him. The children charged an old, half-witted Irish woman with having bewitched them, something of the kind being expected of them ; and she was at once hanged ! This was only the morning-star of a coming day. Mather elaborated the account, which was published in England, in 1691, and was much commended by Baxter, and others.

Salem seems to have been the seat which the Massachusetts Devil had chosen for his doings. In the month of February, 1691-2, two young girls (aged ten and eleven) of Minister Parris, and two other children, began to show signs of being bewitched. The Reverend Parris at once took the thing up, and almost as a matter of course, it became important, and went on ; the children getting "into holes, creeping under chairs," and "uttering foolish speeches, which neither they nor any one could make any thing of." The news spread in the quiet town of Salem, and Physicians were called in, who could make nothing of it. Startled women went from house to house, and all decided "that they were bewitched !" The town was exercised, and great pity was expressed for these "poor children," so afflicted with invisible "spindles," poisons, hot irons, teeth, pinches, and so on ; all as invisible as the best doings of our own modern "Spirits." Mather says, that in a few days' time "they arrived at such a refining alteration (?) about their eyes, that they could see a little devil of a tawny color, who tendered them a book to sign or touch ; if they refused, the specters, under the command of the 'black man,' tortured them with prodigious manifestations."

What was now to be done ? for these children had been religiously educated, and were "thought to be without guile !" Fasting and prayer were tried, first by Minister Parris in his sitting-room, and then by other clergymen called in from the neighborhood, which seemed to do no kind of good ; for the children barked like dogs, purred like cats, were struck with "invisible sticks," roasted

on "invisible spits," chained with "invisible chains," and what not? and had now come to be held in so great a consequence, that one or two timidly ventured to suggest, "so much pity *might confirm them in designs*"—which none could foresee. Such a suggestion as this could have no effect, except to cover the maker of it with disgrace; and on the 11th of March, a meeting of Ministers was convoked to try whether or not the "gates of Hell" should, or should not prevail; their best efforts again seemed powerless, Satan kept his hold, and the gates prevailed. Mather was busy, in season and out of season, for he had made a discovery, which may best be read in his own words and type:¹

"A Malefactor executed more than forty years ago in this place, did then give notice of a Horrible PLOT against the Country, by WITCHCRAFT, and a foundation of WITCHCRAFT then laid, which, if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably blow up, and pull down, all the Churches in the Country. * * And now the TYDOGS of the Pit are abroad among us—and the FIREBRANDS OF HELL itself are used for the scorching of us—and that NEW ENGLAND should this way be harassed; and not by SWARTHY INDIANS, but they are sooty devils."

Then he says,

"That the UNPARDONABLE SIN is most usually committed by Professors of the Christian religion falling into Witchcraft."

If this be so, and if Mather has discovered what the unpardonable sin really is, he deserves our thanks. He has, however, buckled on his armor, determined to withstand this HELLISH PLOT "in every branch of it," and to maintain the Churches.

But the thing was now talked about throughout the Colony, and something must be done; it was expected, and the whole populace was excited. The Ministers generally preached that the Devil now was let loose, and was going about like a raging lion, seeking whom he might de-

¹ See Wonders of Invisible World.

vour. The next step clearly was, to learn who had bewitched these children, and, of course, they were urged to tell, for they must know. There was, in Parris's family, an Indian woman, from one of the Spanish islands, who, in her superstitious way, thought she would try to right this matter, prayers having failed ; so she made a cake with some sort of conjuration, and gave it to the dog, who appeared to like it very well. When the children heard of this, they cried out upon her : "Tituba, the Witch ! Tituba, the Witch !" Then they cried out upon Sarah Osborn, "a melancholy, distract old woman ;" then upon Sarah Good, "an old woman, who was bed-rid," and then upon Church-members, Cory and Nurse, and were terribly convulsed whenever any of these came near. The matter grew serious, for who else might not be charged with bewitching them ? But now a new feature of this thing showed itself. The wife of Thomas Putnam joined the children, and "makes most terrible shrieks" against Goody Nurse—that she was bewitching her, too. On the 3d of April, Minister Parris preached long and strong from the Text, "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil ?" in which he bore down so hard upon the Witches accused, that Sarah Cloyse, the sister of Nurse, would not sit still, but "went out of meeting ;" always a wicked thing to do, as they thought, but now, a heinous one. At once the children cried out against her, and she was clapt into prison with the rest. Through the months of April and May, Justices Hawthorne and Curwin (or Corwin), with Marshal George Herrick, were busy getting the Witches into jail, and the good people were startled, astounded, and terror-struck, at the numbers who were seized. The leafy month of June had come, the jails were full, and something must be done, for the people were clamorous for punishment upon the authors of these diabolical doings.

Bridget Bishop only, was then brought to trial, for the new Charter and New Governor (Phips), were expected daily. She was old, and had been accused of witchcraft

twenty years before ; and various losses of chickens and cattle, upsetting of carts, spectral black cats, and so on, had been laid to her. So, as there was no doubt about her, she was quickly condemned, and hung on the 10th day of this pleasant June, in the presence of a crowd of sad and frightened people. It is true, that her accuser, when on his death-bed, confessed that he lied ; but that could not be known then ; and it was a foregone conclusion that somebody ought to be hanged.

To be certain of going right, and to have the sanction of what was going to be done, the Clergy were appealed to, who made a report on the 15th of June, quite at large, commending Perkins's and Barnard's directions for the detection of witches, and closing as follows :

"8. Nevertheless, we can not but humbly recommend unto the Government, the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the Law of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the English nation, for the detection of witchcrafts."

Whoever signed this paper, all the Ministers did not, among whom was Samuel Willard. The new Governor, Phips, one of Mather's Church, fell in with the prevailing fear, and a new bench of special Judges, composed of Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, Major Saltonstall, Major Richards, Major Gidney, Mr. Wait Winthrop, Captain Sewall, and Mr. Sargent, were sworn in, and went to work. On the 30th of June, Sarah Good, Rebeka Nurse, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth How, and Sarah Wilder, were brought to trial ; all were found guilty, and sentenced to death, except Nurse, who, being a Church member, was acquitted by the jury. At this, the "afflicted" children fell into fits, and others made great outcries ; and the popular dissatisfaction was so great, that the Court sent them back to the jury room, and they returned shortly, with a verdict of Guilty ! The Rev. Mr. Noyes, of Salem, then excommunicated Nurse, delivered her to Satan, and

they all were led out to die. Minister Noyes told Susannah Martin, that she was a witch, and knew it, and she had better confess it ; but she refused, and told him that "he lied," and that he knew it ; and, "that if he took away her life, God would give him blood to drink ;" which curse is now traditionally believed, and that he was choked with blood. They were hanged, protesting their innocence ; and there was none to pity them.

On the 5th of August, a new batch was haled before the Court. Reverend George Burroughs, John Proctor and his wife, John Willard, George Jacobs, and Martha Carrier. Burroughs was disliked by some of the Clergy, for he was tinctured with Roger Williams's Heresies of Religious Freedom ; and he was particularly obnoxious to Mather, for he had spoken slightly of witchcraft, and had even said there was no such thing as a witch. Willard had been a constable employed in seizing witches, but, becoming sick of the business, had refused to do it any more. The children at once cried out, that he, too, was a witch ; he fled for his life, but was caught at Nashua, and brought back. Old Jacobs was accused by his own grand-daughter ; and Carrier was convicted upon the testimony of her own children. They were all quickly convicted and sentenced.

After sentence, the girl Margaret Jacobs, who had been particularly useful in the conviction of Burroughs and her grandfather, came to Burroughs and confessed, with many tears, that she was a wicked liar and coward ; she also wrote to the Court, endeavoring to undo what was done, saying : "The Lord above knows, that I know nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them (the bewitched). They told me, without doubt, I did, or else they would not fall down at me. They told me, if I would not confess, I should be put down into the dungeon, and would be hanged ; but if I would confess, I should have my life ; the which did so affright me, with my own vile, wicked heart, to save my life, made me make the like confession I

did ; which confession, may it please the honored Court, is altogether false and untrue. * * * What I said, was altogether false against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life, and to have my liberty.”¹

It did not avail ; and all but Mrs. Proctor saw the last of earth on the 19th of August. They were hanged on Gallows Hill.

Minister Burroughs made so moving a prayer, closing with the Lord's Prayer, which it was thought no witch could say, that there was fear lest the crowd should hinder the hanging. As soon as he was turned off, Mr. Mather, sitting on his horse, addressed the people, to prove to them that Burroughs was really no Minister, and to show how he must be guilty, notwithstanding his prayer, for the devil could change himself into an angel of light. When he was cut down, he was dragged by the rope to a hole among the rocks, and thrust in with Willard and Carrier, and half-buried, in a hurried way.²

“By these things,” said Mather, “we see what the devils could have power to do, should the great God give them power.” What a singular God ! Sept. 9. Six more received sentence of death. Sept. 17. Nine more : The jury cleared NONE who were tried. “I meet with but one person in near a hundred, whose examinations are upon file,” says Hutchinson, “that was dismissed after having been once charged.”

Giles Cory, an old man of 80, saw that the accused were prejudged, and refused to plead to the charge against him. What could be done with him ? It was found that for this, by some sort of old law, he might be pressed to death. So on the 16th of September, just as the autumn tints were beginning to glorify the earth, he was laid on the ground, bound hand and foot, and stones were piled upon him, till the tongue was pressed out of his mouth ; “the Sheriff with his cane forced it in again when he was

¹ Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 39.

² Calef, p. 223. Hutch., vol. ii. Neal, vol. ii.

dying.”¹ Such cruel things did fear—fear of the Devil—lead these people to do. He was the first and last who died in New England in this way.

On the 22d of September, eight of the sentenced were carted up Gallows Hill and done to death. Amid a great concourse of men, women, and children, from the neighboring villages, and from Boston, the victims went crying and singing, dragged through the lines of terror-stricken or pitying people. Some would have rescued them, but they had no leaders, and knew not how to act ; so that tragedy was consummated ; and the Reverend Mr. Noyes, pointing at them, said, “ What a sad thing it is to see eight fire-brands of hell hanging there !”

Sad indeed !

Nineteen had now been hung.

One pressed to death.

Eight were condemned.

A hundred and fifty were in prison ; and

Two hundred more were accused by the “ afflicted.”

Some fifty had acknowledged themselves witches, of whom not *one* was executed.

“ By these things you may see how the matter was carried on, chiefly by the complaints and accusations of the afflicted, and then by confessions, &c. Yet experience shows, that the more these were apprehended, the more were still afflicted by Satan.”²

It was now October, and this mischief seemed to be spreading like fire among the dry grass of the Prairies ; and a better quality of persons was beginning to be accused by the bewitched. The Epidemic was spreading in Andover, and various persons there were accused. “ A worthy gentleman of Boston,” Mrs. Carey of Charlestown, Philip English and his wife, Mrs. Justice Bradstreet, the wife of the Rev. Mr. Hale, of Beverley, the Rev. Jeremiah Shepard of Lynn, and even the lady of Governor Phips, who had shown a tender-heartedness to some prisoners,

¹ Calef. p. 228.

² Magnalia, book vi.

were accused by the bewitched. English and his wife, and some others, fled to New York, for they did not feel safe within the jurisdiction, and their estates were seized by the Sheriff. "The worthy gentleman of Boston" sent down, and began suits against the witches for defamation, and put his damages high, which surprised and confused them. But these accusations made people consider, and many began to think that they had been going on too fast. "The juries changed sooner than the judges,¹ and they sooner than the Clergy." "At last," says one of them,² "it was evidently seen that there must be a stop put, or the generation of the church of God would fall under that condemnation."

In other words, the better class of church members were in danger !

At the January session, only three were convicted, and they were reprieved ; whereat Chief Justice Stoughton rose in anger, and said, "The Lord be merciful to this country !" In the spring, Governor Phips, being about to leave the country, pardoned all who were condemned, and the jails were delivered. The excitement subsided as rapidly as it had arisen, but the evil work was done.

There are some people yet who think the Devil must have been busy at Salem ; for their sakes and for the sake of truth, let us see a little upon what testimony these persons were convicted of witchcraft, and put to death ; and what could have induced others to confess themselves witches. We have read what Margaret Jacobs said ; Tituba the Indian woman, who was accused first by Parris's children, said that her master (Rev. Mr. Parris) "did beat and abuse her to make her confess."³ At the time of John Willard's trial, the Rev. Mr. Willard, of Boston, came in to the Court ; one of the bewitched children began to cry out against him, "Willard, Willard !" but being told that it was the wrong Willard, she desisted, and was sent out of Court. Two of Martha Carrier's sons would not

¹ Hutchinson.

² Mather.

³ Calef. p. 197. Upham.

confess that they were witches (made by their mother), "till they were tied neck and heels till the blood was ready to come out of their noses." The minister Burroughs had been a minister in Salem, where he had had some difficulties, but was on the whole "a man of unimpeachable character."¹ In looking over the testimony against him, even as elaborated by Mather,² one can but be struck with its trivial and unreliable character. It would be insufficient now to convict a common thief; and much of it was drawn out of the children by repeated and urgent leading questions, as to his presence at their witch meetings, which they at first denied, but afterward said "yes" to, when they found it was expected of them.³ The Reverend Mr. Parris, at whose house the trouble began, was very active in putting questions and taking down depositions, and he seems to have made it a personal matter to sustain the Delusion, which his children and he had begun.

It certainly seems strange that so many persons should have been willing to CONFESS that they were witches; but the wonder vanishes when we discover that many were induced to do it, by threats of being accused if they did not, and promises of safety if they would acknowledge that they were; and it should be remembered, that not one of those who confessed was proceeded against. Nobody was safe, and the most certain security was either to be bewitched, or to confess to being a witch.

Six women of Andover were brought to confess that they were witches; their good characters were afterward certified to by fifty-five of the leading citizens there. They signed a statement as to what influences were used with them, they having been accused of afflicting Mrs. Ballard. Their relatives, they said, begged of them to confess, in order to save their lives; and the suggestion was strengthened by "some Gentlemen," they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, which made us think

¹ Allen's Biog. Dict.

² Wonders of Invisible World, pp. 33-39. ³ Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 37.

it was so ; and our reason, our faculties almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition ; “and we, hearing that Samuel Wardwell had renounced his confession, and quickly after condemned and executed, some of us were told we were going after Wardwell.”

The Justices made the touch of the witch’s hand (the accused person) a test. If the child came out of the fit, then the person who touched him was proved to be a witch ; and the Rev. Mr. Noyes defended this method !

The Confessors often contradicted themselves, and were caught in “flat lies,” yet they were sustained and excused, and the patrons of the delusion said the Devil took away their memory. People said : “What—will you not believe men when they *say* they have signed the Devil’s book ?”¹

Yet it is curious, that those who had sold themselves to the Devil, were allowed to give their testimony, and to swear “by the Name of the Great God.”

Women were stripped naked, and examined by doctors and women, to discover Devil’s-teats, and other marks of Witchcraft ; and a flea-bite easily passed for a teat.

Mather’s *Magnalia* says,² “Flashy people may burlesque these things [which they did even then], but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country, where they have as much *Mother-wit* certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be *true*, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of *Sadduceeism* can question them.”

Mather said of the Judges, that at last “they cleared the accused as fast as they tried them ; and within a little while the *afflicted* were most of them delivered out of their troubles also ; and the land had peace restored unto it, by the *God of peace treading Satan under foot*.”

The infatuation and cruelty, and total disregard to forms of Justice and rules of Evidence, became so great, that Judge Saltonstall left the bench, and refused to have

¹ Mr. Thomas Brattle’s Candid Account of the Delusion called the Salem Witchcraft. M. H. C., vol. v., written Oct. 8, 1692.

² Vol. i., p. 187.

any more to do with the matter ; there were some who resisted the Superstitious fear after it was begun, of whom were Rev. Samuel Willard, Rev. Mr. Moody, Thos. Danforth, Simon Bradstreet, and the Merchant Calef. But it was a dangerous thing to do, for the Bible was clearly against them, and the witch of Endor and Moses's law, forbidding a witch to live (Exodus xxii. 18), and other texts, were triumphantly cited, and they were suspected, if not accused directly, of Sadduceeism and Infidelity. The power and malignity of the Devil had been so sedulously preached, that the whole people, for the time, were frantic with fear, and were capable of any cruelty and injustice. Whatever blame may be laid to the Actors in this sad affair, it attached most to the Magistrates and Ministers, who, by a little firmness, could have withstood it at the outset : some joined actively in pushing it on, and the rest yielded to them, till at last it became too strong to resist, and goodness, truth, and manhood, were for a time in peril.

But they became sick of it ; the excess cured itself, and the reaction was great. They had been panic-struck with terror of the devil, had endeavored to drown it in blood, and then loathed themselves for what they had done.

How, then, are we to explain this singular delusion and fearful cruelty ? It is safe now to repeat what the wisest then said, that the beginning was an *accident* growing out of the tricks of some children ; it was fostered by the parents ; and the children being excited with their own importance, and fear at what they had done, went on to do more. They were joined by grown-up people, who feared for their lives, or wished to gratify their spite. The whole community, excited to a morbid fear, joined in it, partly from fear, and partly from a feeling of necessity and duty. The results were, that many poor women suffered death and imprisonment, families were broken up, towns distracted, and churches disturbed ; hardness of heart, and cruelty, increased ; Religion was disgraced ; Ministers were brought into contempt ; and Justice was sneered at.

During the time that the children were so "afflicted," they slept at night, had good appetites, and were perfectly well. Nothing was done against them, for the people were exhausted ; but many of them were ruined, and fell into degradation and misery.

Some persons lamented the part they had had in this dreadful tragedy, with tears ; and some (not all) made such reparation as they could ; among whom were the Rev. Mr. Noyes, the Rev. Mr. Hale, Judge Sewall, and twelve of the jurymen. Judge Sewall stood up in church at Boston on a fast-day, while the minister read his confession, and asked forgiveness of God and the people. The reverend Parris found the people would have no more of his preaching : he begged hard to be allowed to stay, and made a sort of confession of error, etc. ; but they would have him no longer. Cotton Mather was hooted at by boys, and pelted with stones ; and his reputation in Massachusetts never recovered from the just judgment of the people.

This misery it may be well to remember, for it grew out of an unwise and superstitious curiosity about devils and spirits, and became cruel and bloody through an epidemic fear—both of which may recur. One thing is often said, namely, "That it makes no difference what a person believes." The belief out of which the Salem cruelties grew is a proof that a false belief is sometimes deadly, and always disgraceful, and we are bound to protest against any theory of Spirits presented upon shallow proof.¹

¹ The curious will find further details in: Calef's Letters. Hutchinson's History, vol. ii. Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World." Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions, by Joseph Glanville, Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. London, 1726. An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft, by Francis Hutchinson, D. D. London, 1718. "Mr. Thomas Brattle's Candid Account of the Delusion called the Salem Witchcraft;" written October 8, 1692. M. H. C., vol. v.

CHAPTER IV.

KIDD THE PIRATE.

THE SLAVE-TRADE—PIRATES IN ENGLAND—KIDD ON THE AFRICAN COAST—WILLIAM MOORE—QUEDAH MERCHANT—AT GARDINEE'S ISLAND—AT BOSTON—IN ENGLAND—HIS SENTENCE—LIVINGSTON—KIDD HANGED—HIS TREASURES—THE BALLAD.

No unimportant man has caused more fear, speculation, and gold-digging, than Captain William Kidd. Along the shores of New England and Long Island, from his day to this, men have dug in the dead of night, directed, as they thought, by the witch-hazel, or the divining-rod, to find his buried Gold : and none have found it.

“The Pirate Kidd” was long a bugbear to frighten children, and a name to rouse the cupidity of men. Privateering has been a respectable business, and the slave-traffic was a respectable traffic ; and both were engaged in by respectable merchants of New York, Bristol, and Newport, and by merchants in England at the close of the seventeenth century. The slave-traders carried specie to a great amount ; and it is not strange, as their business was to prey upon men, that men should take it into their heads to prey upon them ; such, unfortunately for them, was the case, and their traffic became so hazardous, that in 1695, the merchants of New York applied to the English government for protection ; and Colonel Robert Livingston urged the appointment of Captain William Kidd, of New York, well known as a bold commander, to act against the Pirates who were plundering the slave-ships. So, in December, 1695, “the trusty and well-beloved Captain Kidd,” commander of the ship “Adventure Galley,” was appointed. He sailed to the American coast,

and occasionally entered the harbor of New York, to visit his family there.

Several persons of distinction in England took shares in this enterprise, the prize-money holding out the inducement of large returns. By proclamation, he had "liberty to beat up drums for forty men" in New York, to man his vessel, and great things were expected of him by the merchants and slave-traders. He soon left for more active operations on the coast of Africa, and merchants having adventures there in slave-ships, slept soundly, hoping much from his resolute action.

The startling news soon reached them that Captain Kidd, their protector, had himself turned pirate! The bad news flew along the shores of New England to Boston, as quickly as news went in those days; and all shuddered at it, for safety now seemed impossible. Confidence was shaken, and men feared one another. This dread was increased by uncertainty, for no man could tell where Kidd was, or that he might not be hovering on the coast, ready to plunder and kill. The word "pirate," then, as now, conjured up visions of horror and atrocity, and the expectation was more dreadful than the reality.

The matter made a great stir too in England, for the opposition party thrust it into the faces of ministers, and charged complicity upon some members of the Government, as partners with Kidd, and even upon the King. The noblemen who had invested money in the adventure were tried, but acquitted; but they and the King, who were to have shared the profits of his prizes taken from the pirates and the French, were injured and suspected.

Kidd sailed away along the eastern coast of Africa, capturing and rifling vessels, being more greedy for gold than thirsty for blood. It does not appear that he killed any one but William Moore, a sailor, and him he struck with a bucket in a passion. But having gathered gold and treasure, he turned his course homeward, in the "Quedah Merchant," which he left with a part of his

crew at Hispaniola, and in a sloop came into Long Island Sound. He landed to visit his family at New York, and then in his little sloop crept along quietly through Hell-gate, quietly through the Sound, till he came to anchor, and landed on Gardiner's Island, in 1699. There he confided to Mr. John Gardiner his desire to bury treasures, and there, it is said, he did bury eleven hundred and eleven ounces of gold, two thousand three hundred and fifty ounces of silver, seventeen ounces of jewels and precious stones, and various other jewels and merchandizes. Thence he sailed to Boston, as it was supposed, to sell his ship. And he appears to have had no doubt but that under his commission he could clear himself from any charge of piracy. He walked boldly about the streets of Boston for a few days, and then was examined by the Earl of Bellamont, Governor there, and shortly apprehended, and sent away to England.

It seems to have been felt necessary by those who were charged in England with complicity with him (of whom Bellamont was one), that a vigorous prosecution should be urged, and that an example should be made of him, to satisfy a clamorous public opinion. He was brought to trial, and was convicted and sentenced for the *murder* of William Moore, one of his own sailors, whom he had struck in an altercation. This appears to have been the only blood laid against him, and the charge of piracy could hardly have been proved. As was the custom of that day, Kidd was not allowed counsel. He plead his commissions for what he had done ; but was roughly treated by the Court, and Livingston, who was one of his partners and sureties, had got possession of his papers, and refused to give them up to him. Kidd probably had no idea of being charged with piracy, nor did he consider himself a pirate, and if there had been no charge made against his partners, he would not have died on the gallows. He was hanged at Execution Dock, May 12, 1701 ; and all England was agog with the doings of the Pirate

Kidd. It was a mere accident that Kidd was hanged as a pirate, instead of being feasted as a victor.

The Earl of Bellamont appointed a commission to go to Gardiner's Island and take possession of the treasure there. They secured what so many have been digging for, and sent it to England, as follows :

	OUNCES
1. One Bag of Dust Gold,	63 $\frac{3}{4}$
2. One Bag of Coined Gold,	11
One in Silver,	124
3. One Bag of Dust Gold,	24 $\frac{3}{4}$
4. One Bag of Silver Rings and sundry Precious Stones,	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
5. One Bag of Unpolished Stones,	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
6. One Piece of Chrystal, Cornelian Rings, two Agates, two Amethysts.	
7. One Bag of Silver Buttons and Lamps.	
8. One Bag of Broken Silver,	173 $\frac{1}{2}$
9. One Bag of Gold Bars,	353 $\frac{1}{4}$
10. One Bag of Gold Bars,	238 $\frac{1}{2}$
11. One Bag of Dust Gold,	59 $\frac{1}{2}$
12. One Bag of Silver Bars,	309
	<u>1374$\frac{5}{8}$</u>

SAMUEL SEWELL,
NATHANIEL BYFIELD,
JEREMIAH DUMMER,
ANDREW BELCHER,

Commissioners.

Many persons believed the "Quedah Merchant" was brought into the Hudson River at night, and sunk near the Highlands ; and within a few years a company was formed by Abraham G. Thomson in New York to recover her treasures, but the project fell through.¹

The accompanying ballad was said and sung far and wide, and is curious, though not true :

CAPTAIN ROBERT KIDD,

A NOTED PIRATE WHO WAS HANGED AT EXECUTION DOCK, IN ENGLAND.

You captains brave and bold, hear our cries, hear our cries,

You captains brave and bold, hear our cries;

¹ Valentine's New York, p. 224; Hutchinson's Hist., vol. ii.; Holmes's Annals, vol. i.; Smith's New York, vol. i.; Campbell's Historical Account of New York, 1853.

You captains brave and bold, though you seem uncontroll'd,
Don't for the sake of gold lose your souls, lose your souls,
Don't for the sake of gold, lose your souls.

My name was Robert Kidd, when I sail'd when I sail'd,
My name was Robert Kidd, when I sail'd ;
My name was Robert Kidd, God's laws I did forbid,
And so wickedly I did, when I sail'd.

My parents taught me well, when I sail'd, when I sail'd,
My parents taught me well, when I sail'd ;
My parents taught me well, to shun the gates of hell,
But against them I did rebel, when I sail'd.

I curs'd my father dear, when I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I cursed my father dear, when I sail'd ;
I curs'd my father dear, and her that did me bear,
And so wickedly did swear, when I sail'd.

I made a solemn vow, when I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I made a solemn vow, when I sail'd ;
I made a solemn vow, to God I would not bow,
Nor myself one prayer allow, when I sail'd.

I'd a Bible in my hand, when I sail'd, when I sail'd,
I'd a Bible in my hand, when I sail'd ;
I'd a Bible in my hand, by my father's great command,
But I sunk it in the sand, when I sail'd.

I murder'd William Moore, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
I murder'd William Moore, as I sail'd ;
I murder'd William Moore, and left him in his gore,
Not many leagues from shore, as I sail'd.

And being cruel still, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
And being cruel still, as I sailed ;
And being cruel still, my gunner I did kill,
And his precious blood did spill, as I sail'd.

My mate took sick and died, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
My mate took sick and died, as I sail'd ;
My mate took sick and died, which me much terrified,
When he call'd me to his bed-side, as I sail'd.

And unto me did say, see me die, see me die,
And unto me did say, see me die ;
And unto me did say, take warning now, I pray,
There 'll come a reckoning day, you must die.

You can not then withstand, you must die, you must die,
You can not then withstand, you must die;
You can not then withstand, the judgment of God's hand,
But bound in iron bands, you must die.

I was sick and nigh to death, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
I was sick and nigh to death, as I sail'd;
I was sick and nigh to death, and vow'd at every breath,
To walk in wisdom's paths, as I sail'd.

I thought I was undone, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
I thought I was undone, as I sail'd;
I thought I was undone, that my wicked glass was run,
But my health did soon return, as I sail'd.

My repentance lasted not, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
My repentance lasted not, as I sail'd;
My repentance lasted not, my vows I soon forgot,
Damnation's my just lot, as I sail'd.

I steer'd from sound to sound, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
I steer'd from sound to sound, as I sail'd;
I steer'd from sound to sound, and many ships I found,
And most of them I burn'd, as I sail'd.

I spied three ships of France, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
I spied three ships of France, as I sail'd;
I spied three ships of France, and to them did advance,
And took them all by chance, as I sail'd.

I spied three ships of Spain, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
I spied three ships of Spain, as I sail'd;
I spied three ships of Spain, I fired on them amain,
Till most of them were slain, as I sail'd.

I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
I'd ninety bars of gold, as I sail'd;
I'd ninety bars of gold, and dollars manifold,
With riches uncontroll'd, as I sail'd.

Then fourteen ships I see, as I sail'd, as I sail'd,
Then fourteen ships I see, as I sail'd;
Then fourteen ships I see, and all brave men they be,
And they were too hard for me, as I sail'd.

Thus being o'ertaken at last, I must die, I must die,
Thus being o'ertaken at last, I must die;
Thus being o'ertaken at last, and into prison cast,
And sentence being past, I must die.

Farewell to the raging main, for I must die, I must die,
Farewell to the raging main, for I must die ;
Farewell to the raging main, to Turkey, France, and Spain,
I shall ne'er see you again, for I must die.

To Newgate now I'm cast, and must die, and must die,
To Newgate now I'm cast, and must die ;
To Newgate now I'm cast, with sad and heavy heart,
To receive my just desert, I must die.

To Execution Dock I must go, I must go,
To Execution Dock, I must go ;
To Execution Dock, will many thousand flock,
But I must bear my shock, and must die.

Come all ye young and old, see me die, see me die,
Come all ye young and old, see me die ;
Come all ye young and old, you're welcome to my gold,
For by it I've lost my soul, and must die.

Take warning now by me, for I must die, I must die,
Take warning now by me, for I must die,
Take warning now, I pray, and shun bad company,
Lest you come to hell with me, for I must die, I must die,
Lest you come to hell with me, for I must die.

CHAPTER V.

DOINGS OF THE FRENCH AND INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

LA TOUR AND D'AULNEY—FRENCH PORTS—INDIAN TRADE—ANDROS'S EXPEDITION—CASTINE AND MADOCKAWANDO—FRONTENAC—MAJOR WALDRON'S TREACHERY—WAR BEGUN—WALDRON KILLED—PEMAQUID TAKEN—SCHENECTADY DESTROYED—PORT ROYAL TAKEN—AN EXPEDITION AGREED UPON—IT FAILS—PHIPS'S ATTACK UPON QUEBEC—IT FAILS—YORK DESTROYED—PEMAQUID LOST—HANNAH DUNSTAN—DEERFIELD DESTROYED—CHILDREN—WILLIAMS—HIS JOURNAL—1704 AND 1705—VETCH'S EXPEDITION FAILS—EXPEDITION OF 1711, FAILS—PEACE OF UTRECHT—SETTLEMENTS EXTEND—FATHER RALLE SHOT—PEACE, 1725—WAR AGAIN—INDIAN SCALPS—SHIRLEY—FALL OF LOUISBURG—FRENCH FLEET—HOOSIC—PEACE—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—WASHINGTON—CONGRESS OF 1754—FRANKLIN'S PLAN—"THE BIG TALK"—JOHNSON—HENDRICK'S DREAM—BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT—NOVA SCOTIA—OSWEGO—BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE—REMOVAL OF ACADIANS—LOSS OF OSWEGO—MASSACRE AT FORT WILLIAM HENRY—PLANS FOR 1750—TAKING OF QUEBEC—WOLFE AND MONTCALM—ALL CANADA CONQUERED.

FRANCE claimed a right to occupy and own a part of North America, because of her discoveries. In the year 1535, Jacques Cartier had sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and planted a cross on its banks, and claimed the country for Christ and his King. De Monts had landed and explored about the mouth of the Passamaquoddy, in Maine, in 1604; Sir William Alexander, who held a grant of lands in Nova Scotia, from the English King, had sold his claim to a Frenchman, named La Tour; and before the Plymouth Colony was begun, Frenchmen had sailed up the St. Lawrence, and ascended the Ottawa river in boats.¹ They established trading and fishing-posts in Nova Scotia, and along the St. Lawrence, and prepared to contest with the English, the trade and dominion of the New World. They pounced upon the Plymouth Colony's trading-house at Kennebeck, in 1632, and in 1635,

¹ Archæology of the United States, by Samuel F. Havens. Smithsonian Contributions.

D'Aulney, one of the French commanders, took it and kept it.¹ These two, La Tour and D'Aulney, were rivals for the control of the French power on the Coast, and carried on a skirmishing quarrel for many years, in which they both tried to induce the Massachusetts people to take sides. But Winthrop and the Magistrates spoke fair to both, and the merchants of the Bay traded with both. La Tour came down to Boston, and went to meeting, and carried himself with exceeding piety, but the Magistrates still refused openly to espouse his quarrel. This struggle went on till the year 1652, when D'Aulney died, and La Tour, like a judicious Frenchman, married Madam D'Aulney, and possessed himself not only of the wife, but the claims of his rival.

In 1663, Charles II. made a grant of the whole of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, to his brother, the Duke of York, which, of course, brought him in conflict with the French there ; which continued till the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, when France gave it up to England.

But jealousies were quick, and the French had a powerful influence with the Eastern Indians, whom they treated better than the English did. The Jesuit Missionaries also enlisted their feelings, in the child-like ceremonies of the Catholic Church. Every war, which broke out in Europe between England and France, gave rise to collisions, and sharpened the traders against one another. This state of things continued, till about the year 1688, when more serious dangers threatened. The French were settled East of Penobscot, and their principal town was Port Royal (now Annapolis). They numbered, all told, some eleven thousand souls, and had forts at Quebec and Montreal. But French enterprise did not stop there. As early as 1678, their traders and missionaries had penetrated to the Mississippi River, and were preparing to plant themselves in that wonderful basin. It is a curious fact, that the French and Spaniards always entered into close relations

¹ Vol. i., p. 86.

with the Indians, and intermarried with them, while the English rarely did ; hardly an instance of it is found in New England history ; a certain self-valuation seemed to forbid it ; which feeling, added to a love of power, has led the English, everywhere, to treat the natives as inferiors, and slaves. They do it to this day in India, where they are properly and bitterly hated.

These French forts were the centers of a large and profitable trade with the Indians, which the French pushed with vigor and enterprise. In canoes, loaded with beads and knives, powder and guns, rum and trinkets, they penetrated the great lakes, and explored the rivers ; they traded with the simple natives, and made great gains, for the savages wanted rum and guns more than they wanted pelts. At stated times in the year, the tribes collected in great numbers, at these trading-forts, and their bargaining closed with a grand carouse, called a " Drunk."

Wherever the traders went, the most devoted Jesuit Missionaries went in their company ; and though these could not Christianize, so fast as the traders' rum destroyed, yet they made the world richer, with the lives and memories of such men as Jogues (1646), and Brebeuf (1649) Lallemande, and Marquette.

It was inevitable that deeds of violence should occasionally occur on a Border peopled with Indians, infested with traders who sold them rum, and peopled on either side by rival nations. Every deed passed from mouth to mouth, and grew with fearful exaggeration. The Indians were told that they were to be exterminated by the English ; the English by the Indians and French combined ; and things were in an inflammable state. Just at this time (1688), Sir Edmund Andros was carrying things with a high hand at Boston, and was inspired also with the desire of military fame and of doing great deeds. So he impressed a small force of eight hundred men, and marched away (November) into the Eastern Country, toward the Penobscot. He did not kill an Indian, but he thoroughly

exasperated them, and after building forts at Pemaquid and one or two other points, and freezing his men, he returned to Boston.

The Baron St. Castine was the leading Frenchman among the French and Indians eastward. He had married the Chief Madockawando's daughter, and did not mean to be driven from the country. Madockawando, Chief of the Abenakis or Penobscot Indians, went down to Boston with a "safe conduct," where he was civilly treated ; he promised to work for peace with Castine and the Indians, but did not mean it ; he practiced the diplomacy of Christian nations, and lied when it suited him.

Up to this time the Indians had been resisting the encroachments of the whites, and fighting their own quarrel ; but now, new tactics were to be practiced, and they were to be armed and led on by whites, to war upon and destroy whites. War raged between England and France, for Louis XIV. had seized the sword to force James II. and the Catholic Church upon England, and drive out William and Protestantism. Count Frontenac, in Canada, was planning the destruction of New York, while Castine was preparing to strike a blow from Acadia.

The English Colonists found they must meet war with war, or be exterminated ; and they appointed Sir William Phips to command their troops.

The war was begun by the Eastern Indians ; they remembered Major Waldron well ; for during King Philip's war (1676), the excitement went like the electric current through all New England, and the Indians were roused and restless. Fearing an attack from that Eastern Quarter, Massachusetts sent some soldiers to Major Waldron, at Coheco (or Quochecho, Dover), and directed him to seize armed and dangerous savages. He assembled a large number of them at his plantation, when some of his men urged him to attack them ; but he proposed to the Indians a mock-fight for entertainment, and when all the Indians' pieces were fired off, he pounced upon them

and took 200 prisoners ; these he sent off to Boston, and some were hung, and the rest sold to slavery.

The memory of this treachery and destruction remained, and by-and-by bore its proper fruit. After thirteen years of waiting, their revenge was sated. On the night of the 28th of June, 1689, they assaulted and broke into his block-house, killing some twenty-two of his garrison. They took him with sword in hand, and seated him in his arm-chair on his own table ; then they mocked him with Indian wit, and derided him. They said :

“ Who will judge Indians now ? Who will hang our brothers ? Will the pale-faced Waldron give us life for life ? ”

The old man, then 80 years of age, sat in his chair, his white hair flowing on his shoulders ; he knew that his hour was come, and he needed not to wait long. Blow followed blow, and for every one of the two hundred, his body received a wound. The Indians thus glutted their vengeance, and were then ready for more mischief.

In the East the Indians were prowling and marauding, instigated and led on by the French, and on the 22d of August, the New England fort at Pemaquid (Bristol, Maine) capitulated : part of the garrison was butchered, and the rest carried away. These things roused the Massachusetts men to action, and an expedition was organized against Port Royal and the French settlements to the east, under the command of Sir William Phips.

In the mean time, Frontenac, French Governor of Canada, was not idle. He expected ships and aid from France, and enlisted the

Indians in a grand expedition against New York ; but his own towns being attacked by the Mohawks, he was unable to proceed, and the whole thing proved a failure. Something he must do to keep up the courage of his men, and to hold on to the Indians, who always deserted the losing side. So, early in the year

DESTRUCTION
OF SCHENEC-
TADY.

1690, two parties of French and Indians made their way through the trackless forests, then filled with snow. One party went east, through New Hampshire, and one west, through New York. The larger party (some three hundred), led by D'Aillebout, suffered infinite misery from cold and hunger, and would gladly have surrendered to escape starvation. In this wretched plight, they broke through the wilderness, and came within reach of Schenectady. This was then a small frontier settlement, lying out in a clearing of the wilderness. Farms were being opened around it, and men carried the axe in one hand, and the gun in the other. To secure the town against attacks, it had been surrounded with a stockade.

But the inhabitants reposed in quiet—secure for that winter at least; for no commander could be so rash as to march men through that long, trackless waste, lying between Canada and New York, where neither shelter or food were to be had. Some few soldiers were among them; and Colonel Schuyler was at Albany, where it was easy to reach him and succor, should danger come. They went to bed at night, and enjoyed their slumbers. They listened to warnings with derision, and did not even take the precaution to close the gates of the town at night.

D'Aillebout's scouts soon discovered this, and they who had expected to yield themselves prisoners of war, seized this chance for victory.

On the night of Saturday, February 8, they crept into the town at midnight, and not a dog barked the warning of danger. Dividing themselves into small parties, they attacked, on the instant signal, every house—slaying men, women, and children, and burning houses. All the long night the destruction went on; the Indians were mad with slaughter, and women and children fled, shrieking with fear. A few escaped toward Albany, without clothes, many of whom perished in the snow. Sixty-three persons were killed, and twenty-five carried away to Canada. The town and Church were laid in ashes. News of this fright-

ful destruction and misery soon reached Albany, and filled the people there with terror and panic, so that they were about to abandon the town and fly. But Colonel Schuyler rallied them, and sent a party of horse to the relief of Schenectady. It was too late; the dreadful deed was done; the inhabitants were killed or dispersed, the town destroyed, and the French and Indians were away toward Canada. The other party, under command of Hertel, went eastward and attacked Salmon Falls, New Hampshire [March 18], where, in spite of the defense of the people, they killed thirty-six men, and carried off fifty-four prisoners, mostly women and children.

Sir William Phips sailed on the 28th April
PORT ROYAL
TAKEN. [1690], took Port Royal, which could make but a feeble defense, and plundered the coast from Penobscot eastward. He returned in the last of May, with much goods and valuables—enough to pay “the whole expence.” But all the eastern Indians were now roused, and were burning, and slaying, and marauding. This new plan of instigating the Indians to destroy the whites, became apparent, and made the continuance of the French in Canada dangerous. A vessel was then sent to England from Massachusetts, carrying letters, asking the King to send frigates to co-operate in reducing and holding Canada. But in England their hands were too full, to give any help. The Colonies of New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts then saw, that it was necessary to fight or die, and they held a meeting at New York, May 1, 1690, where the Commissioners agreed to unite in an expedition for the destruction of Montreal and Quebec.

New York was in confusion, distracted between the adherents of Leisler, and his opponents, headed by Bayard, Livingston and others (called the “Grandeers”), so that she did nothing toward providing boats, provisions, etc., as had been agreed upon.

Major John Winthrop, of Connecticut, was selected to

lead the overland expedition, and Sir William Phips to command one by sea.

Major Winthrop marched with the Connecticut troops promptly to Wood Creek (near Lake George) where he was to meet a body of men from New York, and some five hundred Mohawk and Oneida Indians. He encamped on the banks of the stream, and waited, but no troops or Indians came. Neither were any boats or provisions furnished by New York, as had been agreed upon. To proceed, therefore, was madness, and to fall back, was imperative. Leisler was in a rage, for the blame fell upon him, and he court-martialed Major Winthrop, whom he accused of treachery and cowardice. The Connecticut Court ordered an examination, and acquitted him honorably.

That part of the expedition resulted in nothing.

The Massachusetts Commissioners set to work vigorously, and a strong sea expedition was organized. But it was not till the 9th of August [1690], that Sir William Phips sailed out of Nantasket Roads, cheered by the people on the shore. He was at the head of more than thirty vessels (mostly small)—the largest carrying forty-four guns. They worked their way round to the St. Lawrence, and up the river; so that after two months [on the 5th October], they anchored before Quebec.

But where were Major Winthrop and his troops? Frontenac knew that that expedition was a failure (though Phips did not), and he turned all his strength to the defense of Quebec. Perched on its rocky heights, it was not to be taken with a spring. Sir William sent in a high-sounding demand for the surrender of the place, which the French treated with derision. As the walls were not like those of Jericho, which fell down at the blowing of rams'-horns, Phips determined to try other blasts, and on the 8th of October he landed 1,300 of his troops. They at once fell into an Indian ambush, and were disordered, and somewhat cut up. At night, some real or pretended French

ATTACK
UPON QUE-
BEC.

deserters came over to them, and told great stories about the strength of the place, which were discouraging. The next day the guns from the vessels opened upon the town, and were sharply answered. The forts had the advantage, and the ships suffered most. Nothing of moment seems to have been attempted, and on the 11th the troops were rapidly re-embarked. Phips and his officers were perplexed, for the failure of Winthrop and the undivided force of Frontenac disconcerted all plans : some were for a new attack, others for a safe retreat. The elements soon decided it, for the tempest drove some of their vessels ashore, and increased the perplexity. The stormy season was upon them, and they concluded not to take Quebec, at that time. So they turned their prows eastward, and sailed away for New England. But misfortunes pursued them : the small-pox broke out among them, and the autumn gales scattered their vessels. Some were driven away, and wrecked on the West Indies, some were never heard of again ; and the result of the expedition was the loss of two hundred men and much property—a disastrous, if not ridiculous failure. The disappointment and mortification were severely felt throughout New England.¹

Through the year 1691 the colonists were cheated by hopes of peace with the eastern Indians ; attacks and alarms were frequent. In January the town of York was destroyed, and more than fifty persons were killed, and a hundred “captivated ;” and this unsettled state of things continued till after the peace of Ryswick, in 1697 (Sept. 20).

In June, 1692, Storer’s garrison-house at Wells (Maine) was attacked by Madockawando, Moxus, and their Indians, with some French, who were beaten off. Governor Phips built the fort at Pemaquid, in 1692, and sent out Captain Church with parties to damage the Indians.

In 1693 a treaty of peace was made with the Indians at

¹ Hutchinson, vol. i. Trumbull, vol. i. Williams’s Vermont, vol. i. Valentine’s New York.—M. H. Coll., vol. vi.

Pemaquid (11th August), but it was ineffectual, except for a short time ; for in July of the next year they fell with fury upon a village at Oyster river, in New Hampshire, and killed and carried captive a hundred men, women, and children. Madockawando and Moxus led this attack. Bomazeen, one of their bravest chiefs, came in to Pemaquid to talk, when he and his men were seized, and sent prisoners to Boston : this increased the exasperation.

In July, 1696, the fort at Pemaquid was summoned by Iberville, who commanded some French ships, and Baron St. Castine, who led the Indians ; and was surrendered by Captain Chubb. The fury of the Indians was so great against Chubb, that the garrison could only be preserved by removing them to one of the islands. The fort was demolished. Captain Church ranged along the coast with his five hundred men, but arrived too late to prevent the loss of the fort.

The labors of the farmer in this eastern section were suspended, and no man's life, who ventured beyond log walls, was worth more than a charge of powder.

In 1696, Major Frost and his wife were killed as they went home from meeting. Two men carrying news to the garrison at Wells, were shot and scalped ; four soldiers, belonging to the garrison at Saco, were shot ; and the settlement of the country seemed suspended.

In 1697, Frontenac and the French court concerted an attack upon Boston, and Frontenac raised fifteen hundred men for the purpose. The news of this thing spread terror and dismay in the colonies. But it failed, and the Peace of 1697 removed the danger.

HANNAH DUNSTAN was taken prisoner (with some forty others) by the Indians, in an attack upon Haverhill, in March, 1698. She had been confined but a week before ; her child's head was dashed against a tree, and she and her nurse were assigned as servants to an Indian family, consisting of two men, three women, seven children, and an English captive boy. They were marched away to-

ward Canada, camping in the woods at night, and exposed to every hardship. This they bore well enough, but when they had got away some one hundred and fifty miles, the women were told that when they reached the Indian town, they must be stripped and run the gauntlet. This, Hannah Dunstan was determined not to do. She made her resolution, and inspired the other woman and the captive boy with some of her courage. Before day, she rose cautiously, and waked her companions. They carefully secured the tomahawks, and then went silently to their deadly work. The whole family of sleeping Indians was killed, except an old woman and a boy, who escaped. Then Hannah Dunstan, with ten scalps, fled with her companions through the forest, through dangers from Indians and famine, and reached Haverhill in safety, and her fame went through the Colonies to Virginia.

Trouble between the settlers and Indians and French broke out afresh in 1703, in the East, along the Penobscot.

But in 1703-4, Colonel Schuyler sent word from Albany, that an army of French and Indians was preparing to attack Deerfield, then the frontier settlement of Massachusetts ; yet the army did not come, and danger seemed past. The Rev. John Williams was the minister there, and it was borne in upon his mind that the town was about to be destroyed. It seems strange that the impression should have ever been off his mind. But he warned the people of danger, and urged it in sermons. He petitioned the Massachusetts Magistrates for aid, and twenty soldiers were sent to guard the town. They made their rounds as customary, and late one night went to sleep.

Hertel de Rouville led a party of three hundred French and Indians. Four of his brothers were with him, all wily bush-rangers. On the night of the 28th February, just before daybreak, mounting upon snow-drifts, they scaled the walls of the garrison-house, and began their

DESTRUCTION
OF DEER-
FIELD.

work of destruction. A party of them broke into Mr. Williams's house, killed two of his children, and a negro woman. He seized his pistol, and snapped it at a lusty Indian, but it missed fire, and he and his wife and five children were prisoners. They were made to dress themselves and march. In other parts of the town the same work was done; houses were set on fire, forty persons were killed, and one hundred marched away prisoners. Their misery was prolonged; for they were short of provisions, and the women and children were weak. The Indians retreated rapidly, as was their custom, fearing an attack. Mrs. Williams had just been confined, and she told her husband she could not go on. He knew her doom was death. Her master sunk his hatchet in her head; and twenty more were dispatched in the same way—not from cruelty, but for safety; they could not carry them off, and if they left them, they might give intelligence to a pursuing party. For children, the Indians seem to have had a great fondness: they carried them on their backs, and propitiated them in all possible ways. And it is well attested, that children loved them in return, and in many cases could not be persuaded to leave them. Samuel Allen was prisoner with them while a boy for a year and a half, and would not leave them. He was taken away by force, but he maintained to his last days that the Indian life was the happiest.

After a long, wearisome, and distressing march, they reached Canada; there Governor Vaudreuil treated them with humanity, and softened their sorrows. But they suffered the fate of prisoners of war, and lay long in captivity. Some never returned. It is singular that one of Williams's daughters could not be induced to leave the Indians. She married in the tribe, and left descendants, one of whom (the Rev. Eleazer Williams) has given occasion to an exciting suspicion that he might be the lost Bourbon, son of Louis XVI.¹

¹ See Putnam's Magazine (1853); article, "Have we a Bourbon among us?"

Some extracts from Williams's own account will best represent the history of the period.¹

He says: "The next day (Tuesday, March 7), in the morning, before we traveled, one Mary Brooks, a pious young woman, came to the wigwam where I was, and told me she desired to bless God, who had inclined the heart of her master to let her come and take her farewell of me. Said she, 'By my falls on the ice yesterday I injured myself, causing a miscarriage this night, so that I am not able to travel far; I know they will kill me to-day; but,' says she, 'God has (praised be his name) by his Spirit, with his word, strengthened me to my last encounter with death;' and so mentioned to me some places of Scripture seasonably sent in for her support. 'And,' says she, 'I am not afraid of death; I can, through the grace of God, cheerfully submit to his will. Pray for me,' said she at parting, 'that God will take me to himself.' Accordingly, she was killed that day. I mention it to the end I may stir up all, in their young days, to improve the death of Christ by faith, to a giving them an holy boldness in the day of death."

The courage of Mary Stuarts and Marie Antoinettes, who have gone to death, was never equal to this.

The Captives seem to have been appropriated by the Indians who captured them. Williams says, p. 23:

"My master returned on the evening of the Sabbath (March 12), and told me had killed five moose. The next day (Monday), we were removed to the place where he killed them. We tarried there three days, till we had roasted and dried the meat. My master made me a pair of snow-shoes; 'for,' said he, 'you can not possibly travel without, the snow being knee-deep.' We parted from thence heavy laden. I traveled with a burden on my back, with snow-shoes, twenty-five miles the first day of wearing them; and again the next day till afternoon, and then we came to the French river. My master at this

¹ See Williams's Redeemed Captive.

place took away my pack, and drew the whole load on the ice ; but my bones seemed to be misplaced, and I unable to travel with any speed. My feet were very sore, and each night I wrung blood out of my stockings when I pulled them off. My shins also were very sore, being cut with crusty snow in time of my travelling without snow-shoes. But finding some dry oak-leaves by the river-banks, I put them to my shins, and in once applying them they were healed. And here my master was very kind to me, would always give me the best he had to eat ; and, by the goodness of God, I never wanted a meal's meat during my captivity ; though some of my children and neighbors were greatly wounded (as I may say) with the arrows of famine and pinching want, having for many days nothing but roots to live upon, and not much of them neither. My master gave me a piece of a Bible ; never disturbed me in reading the Scriptures, or in praying to God. Many of my neighbors, also, found that mercy in their journey to have Bibles, Psalm-books, Catechisms, and good books put into their hands, with liberty to use them ; and yet after their arrival at Canada, all possible endeavors were used to deprive them of them. Some say their Bibles were demanded by the French priests, and never re-delivered to them, to their great sorrow.

“My march on the French river was very sore ; for, fearing a thaw, we traveled a very great pace ; my feet were so bruised, and my joints were so distorted by my travelling in snow-shoes, that I thought it impossible to hold out. One morning a little before break of day, my master came and awaked me out of sleep, saying, ‘ Arise, pray to God, and eat your breakfast, for we must go a great way to-day.’ After prayer I arose from my knees, but my feet were so tender, swollen, bruised, and full of pain, that I could scarce stand upon them without holding by the wigwam. And when the Indians said, ‘ You must run to-day,’ I answered, I could not run. My master pointing out

his hatchet, said to me, 'Then I must dash out your brains, and take off your scalp.' I said, 'I suppose, then, you will do so, for I am not able to travel with speed.' He sent me away alone on the ice. About sun half an hour high he overtook me, for I had gone very slowly, not thinking it possible to travel five miles. When he came up he called me to run; I told him I could go no faster. He passed by without saying one word more; so that sometimes I scarce saw any thing of him for an hour together. I traveled from about break of day till dark, never so much as sat down at noon to eat warm victuals—eating frozen meat which I had in my coat pocket, as I traveled. We went that day two of their days' journey as they came down. I judge we went forty to forty-five miles that day.¹ God wonderfully supported me, and so far renewed my strength, that in the afternoon I was stronger to travel than in the forenoon. My strength was restored and renewed to admiration. We should never distrust the care and compassion of God, who can give strength to them who have no might, and power to them who are ready to faint.

"When we entered on the Lake, the ice was rough and uneven, which was very grievous to my feet, that could scarce bear to be set down on the smooth ice of the river. I lifted up my cry to God in ejaculatory requests that he would take notice of my state, and some way or other relieve me. I had not marched above half a mile before there fell a moist snow, about an inch and a half deep, that made it very soft for my feet to pass over the lake to the place where my master's family was. Wonderful favors in the midst of trying afflictions! We went a day's journey from the lake, to a small company of Indians, who were hunting. They were, after their manner, kind to me, and gave me the best they had, which was Moose-flesh, ground-nuts, and cranberries, but no bread; for three weeks together I ate no bread. After our stay there, and

¹ This is hardly possible.

undergoing difficulties in cutting wood, and suffering by lousiness, having lousy old clothes of the soldiers put upon me, when they stript me of mine, to sell to the French soldiers in the army, we again began a march to Shamblee (Chamblée). We stayed at a branch of the lake, and feasted two or three days on geese we killed there. After another day's travel, we came to a river, where the ice was thawed. We made a canoe of Elm-bark, in one day ; and arrived on a Saturday, near noon, at Shamblee, a small village where is a garrison and fort of French soldiers."

These extracts serve to show the perils and pains of a border life, and though written in the peculiar style of a clergyman of that day, are interesting.

Williams found the French people always kind, and he liked them much. His greatest trial, seems to have been from the Jesuits, who were anxious for his conversion to their "true church." He says :

"The next morning the bell rang for mass ; my master bid me go to Church. I refused ; he threatened me, and went away in a rage. At noon the Jesuits sent for me to dine with them, for I ate at their table all the time I was at the fort ; and after dinner, they told me Indians would not allow of any of their captives staying in their Wigwams whilst they were at Church, and were resolved, by force and violence, to bring us all to Church if we would not go without. I told them it was highly unreasonable so to impose upon those who were of a contrary religion ; and to force us to be present at such a service as we abhorred, was nothing becoming Christianity. They replied. Said also, if they were in New England themselves they would go into their Churches, and see their ways of worship. I answered—the case was far different, for there was nothing (themselves being judges), as to matter or manner of worship, but what was according to the Word of God in our Churches, and therefore, etc., etc.," in the usual way, each party claiming that the other was wrong and ought to yield.

It is certain that the Jesuits were earnest and indefatigable, in trying to convert the Puritan prisoners, and spared no persuasions and no arts. With some they succeeded, of whom was one of Williams's children, which cut his father to the heart. A piece of Scripture application, was one day made by an Indian girl, who had been taken captive in King Philip's war, but was now in Canada. She talked awhile with Williams's master; who then commanded Williams to cross himself, which he refused to do; he repeated the order several times, and still Williams refused. Then Ruth said, "Mr. Williams, you know the Scripture, and therefore act against your own light; for you know the Scripture saith, 'Servants, obey your masters;' he is your master, and you his servant, and you ought to obey." But Williams refused, and told her she was a poor, ignorant thing. She had probably learned the Scripture in Connecticut where she had been a prisoner, and now applied it as it had been applied to her.

Once Williams was allowed to see one of his children, a girl seven years old; but only for an hour. "I discoursed with her," he says, "near an hour. She could read very well, and had not forgotten her Catechism; and was very desirous to be redeemed out of the hands of the Macquas, and bemoaned her state among them, telling me how they profaned God's Sabbath, and said she thought a few days before they had been mocking the devil, and that one of the Jesuits stood and looked on them."

Williams, and a part of his family, with other New England prisoners, were returned to Boston in November, through the exertions made by Governor Dudley.

In 1704, Massachusetts sent Captain Church, the Indian fighter, with 500 men, along the Maine coasts and up the rivers, to dismay and terrify the Indians. He did his work in true border style, and destroyed and ravaged on all hands. He was successful for the time, but the Indians only waited their turn. The border warfare continued,

and Lancaster, Almsbury, Haverhill, York, Exeter, Dover, and other places suffered.

Chelmsford, Sudbury, Groton, Exeter and Dover, were attacked in 1705, and numbers were killed or carried off.

Governor Dudley of Massachusetts made great efforts to organize a strong force to act against Port Royal, and solicited aid from the other colonies; New Hampshire and Rhode Island responded, and in May, 1707, a force of a thousand men sailed eastward from Boston, under command of Colonel March. But the expedition was a failure.

Haverhill was attacked by the French and Indians in 1708, and ransacked.

But, in the Spring of 1709, the Earl of Sunderland wrote that Queen Anne had determined to send over a fleet, to co-operate with them, and subdue Canada; and Colonel Samuel Vetch came over to secure the aid of the Colonies. New England's 1,200 men, with six months' provisions, were ready, and they rendezvoused at Wood Creek, and built three forts, under the command of Col. Nicholson. There they waited for the fleet for six months, but no fleet came; the troops grew sick and mutinous, and Nicholson marched back again. This was a grievous disappointment, and a vast expense, to all the New England colonies. Colonel Vetch's Journal¹ contains letter after letter of his, entreating Ministers to send the fleet before it should be too late. But the Ministry seems to have been quite as inefficient then as now, for even his letters were not answered. He speaks of Quebec as being pretty well fortified, and as containing, in a circuit of "twenty miles round, about 800 families, who could not make above so many fighting men." Beside the loss of trade and production, growing out of dangers from the French and Indians, Col. Vetch states that Connecticut spent in defending her frontiers over £7,000 yearly, and the other colonies were obliged to tax themselves in great

¹ Manuscript in possession of Mr. Speyers, New York.

sums. Besides this, they were in danger of being hemmed in by the French settlements, which it was known that France would sooner or later fill with hostile colonists. Colonel Vetch represented these things quite at length, and urged decisive action by the Ministry, with but little success.

Great efforts were made to secure the co-operation of the "Six Nations," and a delegation of Indians, in charge of Colonel Schuyler of Albany, was sent over to England (1710); the purpose of which was, to enlist the Ministry in more active operations, as well as to gratify the Indians, and impress them with the power of England.

In this year, having secured the co-operation of some ships from England, Nicholson sailed against Port Royal, which surrendered without much fighting (2d Oct., 1710).

At last, in 1711, St. John did send a fleet from England, twelve men-of-war, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker, with seventeen of Marlborough's regiments in charge of Jack Hill, but without provisions. A month was passed in getting together food, munitions, and new levies, in New England; and then, on the 30th of July, the whole armament of fifteen ships, forty transports, and seven thousand soldiers, sailed from Boston for Canada, under the command of Admiral Walker. General Nicholson went to Albany, to take charge of four thousand troops, furnished by New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. And now there seemed no reason why Canada should not be subjected, and these quarrels, and murders, and burnings be brought to a final end. All in New England were full of hope, and every meeting-house echoed with prayer. The troops set forward, on their march toward Montreal, in the most propitious season, well officered and well provisioned. The Connecticut troops were led by Colonel Whiting, the others by Colonels Schuyler and Ingoldsby.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, made

all the preparations possible to resist them. He victualled and strengthened his forts, and enlisted the Indians ; but certainly his prospects were dark.

The fleet arrived safely at Gaspee on the 18th August, and sailed thence to the St. Lawrence ; but an east-south-east storm blew up, and it was foggy, and Admiral Walker despised the New England pilots, and pooh'd at their advice. The fleet was ordered to lie-to toward the north, which was done ; and, of course, some eight or nine ships were driven on the north shore, among the rocks and breakers, and a thousand men perished ; the whole fleet was disorganized and demoralized, and in a council of war it was decided to do no more toward taking Quebec, and the Admiral sailed away to England.

Nicholson received the news of this disaster before he had proceeded far, and knowing he was not strong enough to conquer without the fleet, he returned the way he went ; and thus ended another expedition against Canada.

The failure of the expedition was laid to the Colonies. Dummer states that "men may lie, but Interest will not ;" and shows clearly that it was for the interest of New England that Canada should be reduced.¹

These wars and expeditions had cost New England an immense loss in provisions and money ; and from King Philip's war to this time, the lives of more than five thousand strong men, who would have been of the utmost value in a new country.²

In 1713, England and France, being exhausted with wars, concluded a treaty of peace at Utrecht, and Nova Scotia was ceded to England, which secured repose to the Colonies. The Eastern Indians came in, and also proposed peace, and peace was agreed upon by Governor Dudley and the Councils of Massachusetts and New

¹ "A Letter to a Noble Lord concerning the late Expedition to Canada. By Jer. Dummer. London: 1712."

² Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 201.

Hampshire with eight of their principal Chiefs ; which treaty was renewed in 1717.¹

The settlers lying along the outskirts now hoped for security, and extended themselves eastward into Maine and the Indian territory, which of course again excited the jealousy of the natives. This showed itself in 1720 by an attack upon the fishermen of Canso, who were plundered, some French vessels secretly carrying off the plunder. As peace existed between France and England, there could be no open co-operation on the part of the French with the savages ; but from 1720 to 1725 the frontier settlers of New England were subjected to the same surprises, plunderings, murders, and burnings, as have always marked the presence of Indians in warfare ; and these effectually checked the prosperity of New England.

FATHER RALLÉ,¹ a French Jesuit missionary among the Norridgewock Indians, was a prominent figure in this war. His kindness and devotion had given him great influence with his converts, and he no doubt felt bound to encourage the Indians to check the advances of the heretic English. It seems certain that he did so, till he lost his life in a skirmish in August, 1724, being shot through the head by an English soldier named Jacques ; who testified that he found him loading his gun, and that he refused to take or give quarter.

Peace was at last made in 1725,³ and continued many years ; mainly because of the maintenance of trading-posts by Massachusetts, and the not cheating of the Indians, as was the custom of private traders. In concluding this peace, the Chiefs earnestly begged that vessels and taverns might be strictly forbidden to sell rum to their young men ; which was of course promised, but of course not performed.

Through over twenty years the contest between the

¹ Penhallow's Indian Wars. N. H. Hist. Society, vol. i.

² Spelled also Rasles and Ralles.

³ Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 312.

English and French lay at rest, and except for an occasional attack or murder, the Indians were quiet. But when war again broke out between England and Spain in 1740, in which France enlisted on the side of Spain (1744), the old contest was renewed in America.

The hatred of Indians revived, with bitter intensity, and continued to their extermination. In 1755, Massachusetts granted a bounty of three dollars to every soldier who would enlist, and find his own gun. Also a bounty of forty pounds for every male scalp (over twelve years old), and twenty pounds for every woman and child's scalp. And in the next year, as high as three hundred pounds were offered for Indian scalps.¹

The capture of Louisburg was the most important event which happened in the long wars THE FALL OF LOUISBURG. between the French and English in America.

Hostilities commenced, and the French, as usual, were impetuous—the Indians ready for excitement and plunder. So they pitched upon Canso [May 13, 1744], burned the houses, destroyed the fisheries, and carried off people and property. To this the usual attacks and surprises ensued, which it would be tedious to recount.

Governor Shirley (of Massachusetts) was a man of action, and foresaw that the only safety was to carry the war into the enemy's country. Auchmuty and Vaughan suggested the plan of capturing Louisburg,² the principal French town and fortress on the Island of Cape Breton. Shirley gathered all information possible, and believed that in the winter the fortress was accessible, and, unsuspecting of an attack, would be but poorly defended.

The Governor sent a message to the General Court, proposing the plan, which had been talked of among a few. The Deputies, who had heard nothing of it, were struck with amazement, and at first deemed so great an under-

¹ Ward's Shrewsbury. Paper Money.

² Williams's History of Vermont. Belknap's History. See Judge Auchmuty's Letter in M. H. C., vol. v.

taking impossible ; but it was urged upon them, that if left alone, Louisburg would become the Dunkirk of America, and that now was the time, with a surprise and a blow, to rid themselves of a dangerous enemy. But after discussion, the committees decided that the plan was altogether impracticable. But Shirley was determined upon it, and he set on foot, among the merchants, a petition, representing the danger and destruction to trade and the fisheries, should the French be allowed to grow strong and control the seas. This brought up the matter again in the House, and after a full debate, it was decided in favor of the expedition [Jan. 26, 1745], by a majority of one vote. This being settled, all parties united in carrying it forward vigorously. Messengers were sent off at once to all the Governments, as far south as Pennsylvania ; and all declined to co-operate, except Connecticut (who agreed to raise 500 men), New Hampshire (300), and Rhode Island (300). With these promises, Massachusetts pushed preparations forward, hiring and purchasing vessels, and gathering provisions, cannon, and munitions. All was done hastily, but quietly. Colonel Pepperell, a man of influence and character, largely engaged in fishing, who had lost heavily by the depredations of the French privateers, was pressed into the command ; and on the 24th of March, Captain Rouse set sail from Nantasket, with 3,500 men from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The Connecticut men, under the lead of Deputy-Governor Wolcott, followed them on the 25th ; and the Rhode Island men (staying to deliberate) followed after the place was taken.

The Expedition was attended with good luck ; at first, Commodore Warren, of the West India fleet, had declined to co-operate, but getting other orders, he sailed north, and a number of his ships of war arrived at Canso¹ [23d April], which were efficient in raising the spirit of the troops, in protecting the harbor from the entrance of the French cruisers ; and they secured the taking of the fort.

¹ Once called Falmouth, on Casco Bay.

The garrison at Louisburg reposed in easy security, and, with French spirit, relieved the monotony of winter quarters with their usual vivacity. A gay ball illuminated the fort the very night before the New England troops landed, and began their assault ; and the change from the gallantries of the evening to the cannonade of the morning, was at least a surprise.

The New England men landed at Chapeau Rouge Bay, on the 30th of April, and were met by Bouladrie, at the head of a hundred and fifty French troops, who were driven back. They then went on, " void of art, in their own natural way," making advances when and as they could, and made themselves merry at the more experienced officers, who proposed " zig-zags and epaulments," which, however, they found useful before they were through with the siege.

A party of four hundred provincials marched round the north-east harbor, to make an attack upon the great battery ; and as they went, they set fire to the storehouses, in which were gathered tar, pitch, etc. The great smoke covered their numbers, and blinded the garrison there, who, supposing the whole army were upon them, hastily abandoned the battery, and retreated to the town. A small party of the Massachusetts men came up to the fort, and seeing no signs of men, suspected a trick ; but a Cape Cod Indian crept in, and discovered the state of things, when the provincials rushed in with a shout, and turned the 42-pounders upon the town.

They established five other batteries, transporting their guns across the morass with great labor, and went to work in earnest. One of the gates of the town was beaten down, many houses were destroyed, the walls damaged, and some of the French guns silenced.

Commodore Warren and his ships were not idle ; they kept a sharp look-out for French ships and transports ; and, on the 18th of May, the Mermaid (Captain Douglas) fell in with a French ship of sixty-four guns, which opened

her batteries. Captain Douglas kept up a running fight, and drew her in, so that she could not escape the ships of the Commodore. Finding she was caught, she struck her flag to the little Mermaid. This ship proved to be the "Vigilant," with five hundred and sixty men, and stores of all sorts for the garrison. This capture strengthened the provincials and discouraged the French. The siege went on, and some of the marines and sailors were sent ashore, to man the batteries and push the work. Expresses were sent away to Boston for more men and more powder ; men were sent, and some powder, but the latter was scarce. More ships arrived, and on the 12th of June, an English fleet of eleven ships was collected before Louisbourg.

The prospects of the French now seemed dark. The commanders of the fleet and army consulted whether the ships should not make an attack by sea, while the army made an assault by land. The French saw, from the movements of the fleet, that some decisive blow was at hand, but saw no chance of succor. On the morning of the 15th June, 1745, the provincials met a messenger, waving a white flag, coming out of the city. The batteries were immediately silenced, till his purpose should be known. He proposed a cessation of the cannonade till terms of capitulation could be agreed on. This was consented to, and during the day, the men and ships lay idle, and the noise of the guns ceased. Terms were finally agreed upon ; and on the 17th of June, the city was surrendered by Duchambon to the New England troops.

This great success was gained with no great loss of men. News of it was at once sent away to Boston, which was hailed with delight. All the bells of the town were rung at day-break, bonfires blazed, and a Thanksgiving was held ; and most men were ready to overlook all mistakes in the great success ; while the officers were astonished at the strength of the fortress. Some said it was a piece of good fortune, not good management, and that it was taken

by the help of God. Hutchinson made this wise remark, which is true to all time : "The best use to be made by posterity, seems to be, not to depend upon special interpositions of Providence, because their ancestors have experienced them, but to avoid the like imminent dangers, and to weigh the probability and improbability of succeeding, in the ordinary course of events." Great actors, in the drama of human events, had given the like counsel. Wallenstein was in the habit of saying, "that God favors the *strongest* squadrons ;" and Cromwell said to his pious corporal : "Pray to God, *but* keep your powder dry."

Louisburg then contained about 5,000 inhabitants (exclusive of the troops), most of whom were engaged in the fisheries.¹

It is well enough to know, that in the English accounts of this siege, there is little mention of the fact, that the expedition was planned in New England ; that the troops and provisions were sent from New England ; and that New England men did most of the work. All the glory is given to the fleet, as was the whole of the prize-money. There was a dispute, too, as to whom the keys should be delivered to ; and the provincials, without uniforms, and guiltless of discipline, were then despised by the professional soldiers and seamen of England.

But New England was elated, England astonished, and France chagrined at the fall of Louisburg. This success was so great, and so valuable to Great Britain, that she could not resist the demands of the colonies for payment for their great expense, particularly as the spoil of Louisburg was estimated at £1,000,000 ; and a grant of money was made them of £235,000 sterling.²

The loss of Cape Breton filled the French with a desire to reinstate themselves, and large plans were at once set on foot for the purpose. In June, 1746, a great fleet,

¹ M'Gregor's Progress of America.

² Shirley's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, London, 1746 ; Hutchinson, vol. ii. ; M. H. C., vol. i. ; Dr. Chauncey, Letter to William Pepperell ; Charle-

under the command of the Duke D'Anville, sailed from Rochelle. It met with storms and disasters, and came straggling in to Chebucto in September, when a council of war decided that nothing of importance could be done, and the remains of the gallant fleet that had kept the whole New England coast in a ferment of fear, made its way back again to France.

The most advanced post in the north-west at this time (1746), was HOOSICK. Hoosick (now Williamstown), where Colonel Hawkes was stationed, with a small force of thirty-three men, and with very limited means of defense. Against this fort, the French Governor, Vaudreuil, led a strong force of 900 French and Indians, in the month of August. Hawkes defended his post with courage and spirit for more than a day, when finding his ammunition getting short, he capitulated, upon condition that none of his men should be given up to the Indians. But Vaudreuil was threatened by the Indians, and fearing mutiny and mischief, he gave up half of the garrison to them, who were carried away captive. Hawkes thought he could have held the fort if he had only had plenty of powder : 33 men to 900 !

It seems strange to us that the settlers should have pushed out so far into the dangerous border, and that they should have attempted to station such weak forts so far from succor; danger, however, makes people fearless of danger, and men came to value excitement more than life ; some do now.

voix ; Smith's New York ; Belknap's New Hampshire, vol. ii., 172 ; Rev. Mr. Stillman's Artillery Election Sermon, June 4, 1770.

England reimbursed the colonies for expenses of capture of Louisburg, 1745, as follows :

Massachusetts,	£183,649	2	7
New Hampshire,	16,335	13	4
Connecticut,	28,863	19	1
Rhode Island,	6,322	12	10
Captain Gibson, a volunteer,	547	15	0
	<hr/>		
	£235,719	2	10

A state of confusion and disaster continued for some years along the borders of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine ; women were shot or captured who went to milk their cows, and men were obliged to organize in bands to go to the mills with corn for flour.¹ Governor Shirley at once began to concert a plan of attacking Canada at all points, and effectually putting a stop to French dominion in the north. But there were many conflicting opinions and views, and he brought nothing to pass, not even the expedition to Crownpoint, which he had much at heart. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (1748), it was agreed to leave the claims of England and France to Commissioners ; they met at Paris in 1752, but could come to no agreement.

The French were systematic and assiduous in pushing colonies and forts westward ; they made stations along the great chain of lakes, and on the Ohio River, even to the rich prairies of the Mississippi; and the Colonies, from Maine to Virginia, saw themselves endangered from incursions of a rival nation, and from marauding Indians. The Assembly of Virginia, in 1754, voted to raise a small force of 300 men for the protection of their frontiers, and in April they set forward, led by a young forest surveyor, 22 years old, who afterward came to be well known as George Washington.

THE SEVEN
YEARS' WAR.

In the course of this year (1754), the Indian tribes from Maine to Virginia were in arms, and war extended along the whole line ; indeed, all Europe was then in arms.

Dangers pressed upon them, and in the beginning of the year 1754, a letter came over from the Secretary of State in England, by order of the King, to the Governor of New York, directing him to call a Congress of certain colonies named, for the purpose of agreeing upon a plan for withstanding the French, and for fixing the amount of men and money each colony should furnish. Connecticut and

THE CONGRESS
OF 1754—
UNION AT-
TEMPTED.

¹ Doolittle's Narrative, Boston, 1750.

Rhode Island were not invited, but sent delegates ; Virginia and New Jersey, who were invited, sent none.

The Commissioners were, from

New York.—James Delancey, Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers, William Smith.

Massachusetts.—Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Partridge, John Worthington.

New Hampshire.—Theodore Atkinson, Richard Wibird, Mesheck Weare, Henry Sherburne.

Connecticut.—William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, Elisha Williams.

Rhode Island.—Stephen Hopkins, Martin Howard.

Pennsylvania.—John Penn, Benjamin Franklin, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris.

Maryland.—Benjamin Tasker, Benjamin Barnes.¹

Two things were attempted at this Congress : 1st. To agree upon a plan of Union of all the Colonies, so as to secure efficient action against a common enemy. 2d. To conciliate the “ Six Nations,” and engage their co-operation against the French.

The plan for Union was prepared by Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, Atkinson, of New Hampshire, Hopkins, of Rhode Island, Pitkin, of Connecticut, Smith, of New York, Franklin, of Pennsylvania, and Tasker, of Maryland ; but it was supposed to be the production mainly, of Benjamin Franklin, and it was adopted on the 4th day of July, twenty-two years before the Declaration of American Independence.

It provided, for a President to be appointed by the Crown. Delegates to be chosen once in three years. The Assembly was to make necessary laws and regulations. But they were subject to the negative of the President and the Crown.

This plan proved to be acceptable neither to the King nor the Colonies ; their interests were not the same, and when it was attempted to harmonize them, it was found

¹ Lossing's Field-Book.

impracticable. Then this fact began to take shape in some brains, that separation of two hostile interests, is wiser than a forced Union. As the first plan of a Union of the Colonies, it is interesting and valuable, although it led then to no practical result.

At this Congress, the principal Chiefs and Warriors of the powerful "Six Nations," were convened, and a "grand talk" was held. These tribes consisted of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Mohawks, and Tuscaroras. They occupied the lands west of Albany, and south into Pennsylvania, and were powerful for good or for harm.

THE BIG TALK
WITH THE SIX
NATIONS.

One of the principal figures at this meeting was WILLIAM JOHNSON, a man in his prime (then forty years old). He was Irish born, and had come to New York, in 1734, to take charge of a large tract of land, along the Mohawk river, purchased by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, who married a lady of New York. Young Johnson, on reaching New York, at once went among the Indians; he adopted their life, learned their language, married their Squaws, and became their patron, their counselor, and their merchant. His life was a strange one. He first built a fine stone mansion on the banks of the Mohawk, near Amsterdam, which is still standing;¹ this he fortified and called Fort Johnson. In this house he lived for twenty years, in a patriarchal style, for his tastes were free and his gratification ample. It was confidently said, that more than one hundred children might call him father. The young Squaws, and the wives of the Chiefs were proud of his favors, and he willingly availed himself of their generous hospitality, which provided distinguished guests with a young and beautiful companion during their sojourn. Besides these, he had at first a young German woman, whom he bought for five pounds, who lived with him at his Castle, and by whom his son, Sir John Johnson, and two daughters, were born. On her death-bed, he married her,

¹ See Lossing's Field-Book, vol. i., p. 232.

that these children might be made legitimate. These two daughters were educated in the whispering forests, and by the banks of murmuring streams. Their hair was tied behind with a ribbon, and waved in the wind, and their dress, guiltless of fashion, was a green silk petticoat, with jackets of finest chintz. Thus these girls lived until they were sixteen years old, having never seen a lady, except their mother, and her friend, who had charge of them. They were afterward married to Sir Guy Johnson, and Daniel Claus, and made excellent wives, and civilized women, although they could not write their names.

Johnson afterward married a fine Indian woman, whose descendants are now some of the first people of Canada. He built a large mansion about 1760, near Johnstown, to which he removed. His establishment was like that of a Baronet of the middle ages ; his Castle was the center to which gathered the Indian traders, and to which came the Chiefs with their followers. Johnson was proud of his position, and took great pains, by gifts and by flattery, to propitiate the Chiefs. They could not resist the temptations of fine clothes and fine words ; and Johnson knew it. Hendrick, Chief of the Mohawks, was so captivated with a gold-laced dress of Johnson's, that he determined to wear it. So he told Johnson that last night he had a dream.

“What was it ?” asked Johnson.

“That a great man made me a present of a suit of gold-laced clothes.”

Johnson listened with gravity, and gave him the clothes. Hendrick wore them away, and was the admiration of his Indians.

Not long afterward Johnson said to him, “Hendrick, I have had a dream.”

“Ugh ; may I know it ?” asked Hendrick.

“I dreamed that a certain tract of land (containing several thousand acres) was mine.”

The Indian listened with gravity, as was their custom, and then replied :

“The land is yours, Sir William ; you dream too hard for me ; I will dream no more.”

Johnson was a shrewd man, with a fine person, and a certain natural eloquence, which took with the Indians ; he came to have an immense influence with them, especially after he was appointed King’s agent (about 1755), and began to distribute the presents sent from England.

He was a man of good luck ; in 1755 he enjoyed the glory of Dieskau’s defeat, was Knighted for it in England, and received a present of £5,000.

In 1759, he commanded the provincial troops, against Niagara, which they took.

His sympathies were always with the King’s party, but he died before the Revolution in 1774, leaving his estates to his son, and presents for the Indians.

The Indians were gathered at Albany in great numbers ; they stood in the open air, and their picturesque figures were arrayed in whatever barbaric finery they possessed. On the right of Lieutenant Governor De Lancey were Messrs. Murray and Johnson, of the New York Council ; next to them, Messrs. Wells, Hutchinson, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington, of the Massachusetts Commission ; and the Commissioners for Rhode Island and New Hampshire. On his left were seated, Messrs. Chambers and Smith, of the New York Council ; Lieutenant Governor Pitkin, Major Wolcott, and Colonel Williams, Commissioners from Connecticut ; and the Commissioners from Pennsylvania and Maryland.¹ Governor De Lancey stood before them, and in the midst of the listening multitudes made them a speech, intended to “brighten the chain” of friendship. To this they replied in their usual brief high-flown way. Then the usual presents were made—well understood to be the price paid for peace—and so received ; then the usual promises were made, the “firewater” was drank, and they went their way to the dusky forests, to vanish with the trees before the strides of civilization.

¹ A Review of the Military Operations in North America. London, 1758.

BRADDOCK'S
DEFEAT.
BATTLE OF
MONONGA-
HELA.

In the spring of 1755, four expeditions were set on foot, for the destruction of the French, and the quelling of the Indians.

General Braddock was sent from England, with orders to take command of the forces, and to attack and capture Fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburg), built in 1753. On the 20th of April, he set out from Alexandria, in Virginia, full of courage and blind with confidence. He had been taught to fight according to rule, and he ridiculed the suggestions of the wood-fighters and Provincials, as much as they, at Louisburg, had laughed at the suggestions of officers who knew how to conduct a siege.

He had with him some 1,460 troops, well officered, among whom were the stripling Washington, and a remarkable Irish wagoner, Daniel Morgan, who afterward came to be tolerably well known as the Leader of the Revolutionary Riflemen. He then drove his own team, to carry provisions for this army. Braddock marched, in the pride of courage and confidence ; drums sounded, and banners waved, so that the Marquis Du Quesne knew very well that an enemy was at hand. On the 9th of July, he crossed the Monongahela, eight miles from Pittsburg, his troops in full dress. Where was Du Quesne ? Why did he not dispute the ford ? It seemed an easy victory was at hand.

About two o'clock, his advanced parties were fired into by a few Indians, who retired quickly. As the troops came forward on to a rising ground, a wild Indian yell broke upon their ears, and a deadly and concealed volley swept them down. The troops were in confusion, for no enemy was to be seen, and they fired at random among the woods and brush. Captain Waggoner, with a party of eighty Virginia flankers, had sheltered themselves behind a fallen tree, and were firing away to dislodge the concealed Indians. Seeing the smoke and hearing the shots, their own English artillery was turned upon them, and

more than half their number was destroyed. Braddock had four horses shot under him, and finally received his wound. Not a bullet touched the body of the young Washington, though his clothes were cut to pieces. Not an enemy was to be seen, and the destruction of the brave troops was frightful. Four hundred and fifty-six were slain outright, and four hundred and twenty-one wounded. Braddock was shot. Sir Peter Halket was shot dead, and his son fell dead upon his body. Captain Treby was shot, and was carried off on the shoulders of Farrel. Captain Conyngham was shot, but the love of his men was stronger than their fears, and they saved him. By five o'clock, the battle was a defeat, and the retreat a rout. The ammunition-wagons were abandoned by their drivers, and vast stores were destroyed by order of Braddock; and Washington was sent off, to hasten up Dunbar's reserve, which lay in camp at Rockport.

Thus the high hopes of Braddock and the country went down in blood and destruction. On the night of Sunday, 13th July, General Braddock died, in grief and disappointment, like the eagle of Waller,

" Which, on a shaft that made him die,
Espy'd a feather of his own,
Wherewith he wont to soar so high."

Braddock was a rash, conceited, and overbearing man; and it has been asserted and claimed, that he was shot by one of his own men, to save them from destruction. Poor Braddock! with all his errors, his melancholy end disarms censure. His body lies buried near the place where he died, far away from friends, country, and home. Let him rest in peace.

His shattered troops saved themselves as they could, and rallied around Colonel Dunbar's reserve; and then all marched back again, leaving the French Fort in safety.

The battle was mostly fought by the Indians, with the

aid of a few French. They did not pursue the retreating English, but with a few prisoners, and glutted with plunder, they returned intoxicated to the Fort. That night the banks of the Alleghany witnessed a fearful sight : twelve English prisoners were marched out, stark naked, among the frantic savages ; they were cut, stabbed, scalped, burned with powder and coals of fire, and died, shrieking in agony, after hours of misery.¹ Let us pass onward.

The second expedition (June) was against
NOVA SCOTIA. Nova Scotia, and was led by Colonel Moncton, a British officer, and Colonel Winslow, who commanded the Provincials. They were successful in taking the forts at Massaquash, Beau-Sejour, Bay Verte, and St. John, and in preserving Nova Scotia against the designs of the French.

The expedition of Governor Shirley, intended
OSWEGO. to capture fort Niagara, proceeded to Oswego ; various delays and accidents kept him there till September, when a council of war decided that it was too late to go on. So Niagara was not taken. It is distinctly charged that Governor De Lancey and Colonel Johnson, were jealous of Shirley, and intrigued to bring him into failure and disgrace.²

Colonel William Johnson, already mentioned,
BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE. was put in command of the expedition against Crownpoint, on Lake Champlain, through the influence of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. On the 10th of August he set out from Albany, having under him some 4,000 men—officered by General Lyman and Colonel Whiting from Connecticut ; Captains Blanchard, Folsom, M'Ginnis, and Rogers, from New Hampshire ; Colonels Williams, Titcomb, Pomeroy, and other active and brave men, besides Indians of the Five Nations. Timothy Ruggles and Israel Putnam were in this fight.

¹ Ormes and Morris's Journals, in Winthrop Sargent's History. Phila., 1855.

² See Livingston's Account in M. H. C., vol. vi.

Baron Dieskau had come to Canada with French troops, to protect it against the attack of the English and Colonies. With eighteen hundred men he came from Montreal to Crownpoint, and finding it dull work to wait there for any enemy, he advanced down the Lake to seek for one. He landed at South Bay (Westfield), and determined to march, attack and take Fort Edward, and from thence proceed to Albany, take it, and then to capture Oswego.

Before he could do these things, he ran against Colonel Johnson on the shores of Lake George, who was strongly placed behind a breast-work of trees, from which his cannon raked the regular French troops. Dieskau's troops halted and fired when they should have carried the breast-work by assault, and his Indians and Provincials fell off, fighting irregularly; his columns were cut up, he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Colonels Titcomb and Williams, and Captain M'Ginnis, were killed of the Americans. Johnson was wounded; and Wraxall, one of his subordinates and flatterers, wrote that he stood so near him, that he thought he saw the ball enter. He retired to his tent, leaving General Lyman to fight the battle, which he did for five hours. Lyman's name was not mentioned by Johnson in his report of the action.¹ General Lyman urged a vigorous pursuit; but Colonel Johnson was too cautious. He seemed to think "not a defeat" almost as good as a victory. He did not pursue his success, and so command more, but spent the rest of the season in building a fort—for Montcalm to take—at the south end of Lake George, which was called Fort William Henry. For all this he was given £5,000 and a title by the English Government. Thus ended the campaigns of 1755.

For the expedition against Nova Scotia, Governor Shirley appointed Colonel John Winslow of Marshfield, to command the Massachusetts

REMOVAL OF
ACADIANS.

¹ Holmes's *Annals*. Mass. H. C. vol. vii, and C. Doolittle's *Narrative*. Belknap's *N. Hampshire*, vol. ii. Williams's *Vermont*, vol. i. Hutchinson, vol. ii.

troops. His personal influence was great, and, in the course of two months, two thousand men volunteered to serve under his command, for a year if required. They sailed from Boston on the 20th May ; and on the 4th of June they were joined by a few British Regulars, and together marched against Fort Beau-Sejour, which surrendered, as did the other forts. The French soldiers were allowed to march out, with the honors of war, and it was agreed that the French inhabitants should be left as they were when the troops arrived, and not be punished for what they had since done.

These people were simple-hearted farmers, with the frugal, painstaking, unambitious habits of a French peasantry. Their life was spent in the labors of Agriculture, content with that simple animal existence which they could enjoy in that hard climate. They did not incline to gather in towns, and as they cared not for ideas, they would have remained as they were for centuries ; they seem to have had no inclination for Arts, for Literature, or for the excitements of an enterprising, commercial, or political life. With enough to eat and drink, they were disposed to be content, and with no vocation for Politics, were blindly loyal to France, and to the Catholic Church, and were easily influenced by Officers and Priests. After the treaty of Utrecht, when the province was ceded to Great Britain, they refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, except upon condition that they should not be called upon to bear arms against France. It was common enough then for Governments to barter away their subjects like sheep, but we can not be surprised that the people did not so easily forget their old nationality or their sympathies. The French inhabitants became and were called "Neutrals ;" yet it was charged, and it was probably true, that they did (some of them) nevertheless, furnish intelligence and supplies to the French and Indians against the English ; for nigh 300 were found in arms at the taking of Fort Beau-Sejour.

Again, they declined to take the Oath of Allegiance to England, except with the same qualification as before.

When the forts were taken, the question came up, as to what should be done with the inhabitants? Counting all, the province contained, according to the Abbé Raynal, some 20,000 persons, owning 60,000 cattle, and over 100,000 hogs and sheep.

If driven out, they would clearly move into Canada, and act against the English. Lawrence, the English Lieutenant-Governor of Nova-Scotia, with Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn, decided that they should be removed and dispersed among the English colonies, and that the New England troops should do this disagreeable work. To a soldier, the first duty is "To Obey;" yet it is not the last nor the only one; and no man lives now, who would not be moved with admiration for Colonel Winslow, had he declined to carry out a project so repulsive to generosity and justice. The plan was kept secret from the inhabitants, who were allured into gathering their crops: then, at different points, they were called together to hear the king's orders.

At Grand Pré, some four hundred of them were collected in the church, where Colonel Winslow addressed them, apologizing for his part of the matter, but urging the king's orders, "that their lands, tenements, live-stock, etc.," were forfeited to the crown; and that only their money and household effects were to be allowed them. Nineteen hundred and twenty-three souls were collected at Grand Pré (who owned 5,000 horned cattle, 500 horses, and nigh 13,000 sheep). They were to be carried away from their quiet homes, earned by their own toil; they were to be robbed of their hard-earned property, and to go naked, as it were, to strange places. Then went up the voice of wailing from multitudes of women and children, and angry grief poisoned the hearts and bleared the eyes of bearded men. Some young men tried to escape, but the land was laid waste; some were shot, and most returned

of their own will to their captivity. According to the orders, some seven thousand were sent into the colonies (a thousand to Massachusetts), where many of them were and continued to be paupers ; for their spirit was broken, and they were strangers, speaking a strange tongue. They were employed in labor, and bound out to service by the Select-men and Justices of the Peace.

This was one among the many tyrannies which men, holding the sword, and calling themselves "Governors of Mankind," have been guilty of in the past. Their deeds are, perhaps, as malignant now as ever they were ; but, with the increase of courage and intelligence in the individual, they are not now so many.

The campaign ended in disgust ; for the New England troops were not only required to do this work, but many were pressed into the English army, against the positive terms of their enlistment.¹

At the close of the year 1755, the English held Fort Edward, at Lake George, with some six hundred men ; and Oswego was well fortified, and garrisoned, and provisioned. There were also some small vessels on the Lake.

The French held strong positions at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Frontenac, and Niagara.

At the opening of the year 1756, Governor Shirley proposed to the Massachusetts Court, to raise money and troops for another expedition against Canada. But they were tired of spending money and blood, and saw no chance of inducing England to pay any share of the expense. Shirley was indefatigable, and promised much, and succeeded in persuading them to enlist three thousand troops, to be commanded by Colonel John Winslow. Before he could get his plans into motion, Lord Loudoun arrived from England [July, 1756], to command the troops intended to act against Canada, and Governor Shirley was superseded, and required

LOSS OF
OSWEGO.

¹ Minot's History of Massachusetts. Barry's History.

to go to England. Before he sailed, news came of the loss of Oswego.

Montcalm, with 1,300 Regulars, 1,700 Canadians, and some Indians, had marched rapidly against it [Aug. 14], and after a short attack, compelled the surrender of 1,400 soldiers, 140 pieces of cannon, sloops, stores, etc. Colonel Mercer, the commanding officer, was killed by a cannon-ball.

This loss was a great mortification to the provincial troops, for, at this time, Loudoun and 2,600 men lay at Albany, doing nothing, and Gen. Winslow was at Fort William Henry, with 7,000 provincial troops, doing nothing, waiting for orders, and for the French.

Montcalm acted with vigor, and achieved success.

Lord Loudoun attempted nothing ; and in the autumn the provincial troops disbanded, and the colonies had to pay all the expense, as before. The command was divided—the responsibility was divided—and all went wrong : a head was needed.

The year 1757 was disastrous to the English and the Colonies. Lord Loudoun, with six thousand troops (the whole force of Regulars), set off on the 20th of June, with ninety sail, to meet the English fleet at Halifax ; which arrived on the 9th of July, bringing Pownal, the new Governor of Massachusetts. There they deliberated, and consulted, and did nothing, and Loudoun sailed back again.

MASSACRE AT
FORT WILLIAM
HENRY.

In the mean time, Montcalm was busy ; he seduced the Six Nations from their doubtful friendship with the English, which Colonel Johnson vainly tried to prevent. Montcalm collected a large body of Indians, and suddenly came upon Fort William Henry, on the 4th of August ; a messenger was sent down post haste, to Massachusetts for aid, and the Governor appointed Sir William Pepperell to a new post, Lieutenant-General of the Militia. But he could not save William Henry.

Colonel Monroe, with two thousand five hundred men, held the fort, and refused Montcalm's summons to surren-

der. Webb lay at Fort Edward, with four thousand men, but feared to send aid to Monroe, lest he should himself be attacked ; so he replied to Monroe's call for aid, and advised him, by letter, to surrender. This letter fell into the hands of the French.

Montcalm had a good siege-train, and made a determined attack upon the fort, which Colonel Monroe defended bravely, till his works were torn to pieces, and his ammunition began to fail. Then Montcalm sent in Webb's letter, advising surrender, with a proposition that he should yield. Finding the case hopeless, Monroe consented, and terms were signed, August 9th, by which the Provincials were to march out with arms (no cartridges), and were not to serve against the French for eighteen months.

"The morning after the capitulation was signed," says Captain Carver, of the Connecticut troops, "as soon as day broke, the whole garrison, now consisting of about two thousand men, besides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about and began to plunder. We were at first in hopes that this was their only view, and suffered them to proceed without opposition. Indeed, it was not in our power to make any, had we been so inclined ; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a single round of ammunition. In these hopes, however, we were disappointed ; for frequently some of them began to attack the sick and wounded, when such as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithstanding they endeavored to avert the fury of their enemies by their shrieks or groans, were soon dispatched."¹

The little army then began their march toward Fort Edward according to the terms of capitulation, but they looked in vain for the escort of French troops to protect them. Dense masses of dusky savages hung about, exasperated and disappointed, for they had been promised *plunder* and

¹ Carver's Travels. Williams's Vermont.

revenge by the French. The prize seemed slipping from them ; they grew bold, and the blood and cries of the few wounded, served only to madden them ; they began to plunder on the skirts of the army, and then all restraint, all fear, were abandoned ; the whole body of Indians threw themselves, tomahawk in hand, shouting the war-whoop, upon the defenseless men. Colonel Monroe, and some others, were able to get back to the French lines, where they vainly tried to have a guard sent, to keep off the savages.

Through the whole day, the carnage and plunder went on, and the Indians rioted in destruction. The troops had no ammunition, they had no leaders—every man was for himself ; they broke up into small bodies, trying to escape ; here and there individuals fled and concealed themselves in the bushes ; many of whom perished with hunger and fatigue, before reaching a place of succor. Numbers of the whites were carried away captives, of whom few ever came back. It is computed that one thousand five hundred persons were this day either murdered, carried off, or lost in the forests. One by one the survivors dropped in upon the outlying plantations with their story of horror, and the hearts of men were palsied. What could be done ? for whose turn might not come next ? Major Putnam, with his Rangers, found the fort burning, the next day, and dead bodies lying about partly consumed by the fire.

Whatever excuse may be made for Montcalm, that he could not restrain the savages, it seems certain that he did not try with determination and force, and so long as that stands against him, he and his officers must be charged with cruelty and dishonor.

He did not follow up his success by an attack upon Fort Edward, but returned to Canada.

The result of three campaigns was disgraceful, and furnished the French with themes for triumph and ridicule. But in the year 1757,

PLANS FOR
1758.

William Pitt was made Secretary of State in England. Whatever faults and errors Pitt was guilty of, Inaction was not one of them, and he infused new vigor and spirit into the struggle against the French. In his Circular to the Colonies, he promised aid, and called upon them to raise regiments, and to officer them themselves; Lord Loudoun left, and General Abercrombie succeeded to the command.

The plan was briefly this : 12,000 men were to attack Louisburg ; 16,000 to take forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake George ; and 8,000 were to march against Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburg).

Amherst and Wolfe took Louisburg (26th July), and with it 5,637 Prisoners. Abercrombie, Lord Howe, and Major Putnam (afterward General Putnam) stormed Ticonderoga with 15,000 Regulars and Provincials, but were beaten off by Montcalm with great slaughter, and Lord Howe was killed (July 6, 1758).

Abercrombie then sent Bradstreet, with 3,000 Provincials, against Fort Frontenac (at the outlet of Lake Ontario on the St. Lawrence). He captured the fort, with large stores of provisions and ammunition (27th August). Through these expeditions, the New Hampshire Rangers were indefatigable, led on by Colonel Rogers and Captain John Starke, whom we shall meet again.

The capture of Fort Frontenac was a severe blow to the French and Indians ; and it was followed up by an attack on Fort Du Quesne. In July, General Forbes, with Colonel Washington, marched across the Pennsylvania Wilderness against it. His advanced guard was met by the French, and cut to pieces before reaching the fort ; but Forbes was not dismayed : he advanced steadily and with caution. The French dared not wait for him, and they dismantled the fort and retreated. Forbes took possession, and changed the name to Pittsburg.

Three movements against the French were projected for the year 1759.

General Wolfe was to proceed up the St. Lawrence, and attack Quebec.

General Amherst was to capture Ticonderoga and Crown Point ; and

General Prideaux, with Colonel Johnson, was to march against Fort Niagara.

Quebec was strong by nature, was strongly fortified, and was defended by that most successful French officer, General Montcalm, at the head of 10,000 troops.

The expedition against it was led by General Wolfe, a young man of great courage, activity, and talent, assisted by Generals Townshend, Monckton, and Murray ; Isaac Barré, a generous, bold, and ambitious Irishman, was his adjutant-general. Toward the latter part of June, his troops landed from the English fleet, on the Isle of Orleans, below Quebec. From that time till September, Wolfe met with all kinds of difficulties ; in the face of a strong fortress, defended by a strong force, with an able leader, the case seemed hopeless, but Wolfe did not give it up. In a war council with his officers, he determined to attempt a daring thing—to land on the north shore, above the town, and bring the French to a battle.

An hour after midnight, on the 12th of September, with much difficulty and address Wolfe effected a landing near Sillery. Every man, inspired with resolution and activity, followed the brave Wolfe, scrambling up the rocky banks to the heights of Abraham. Wolfe formed his troops (5,000) at once in order of battle.

Montcalm was completely surprised, for the heights commanded the town, and he was forced to hazard a battle. He drew out his troops, and he himself led the left wing against Wolfe, who commanded the English right. The French advanced and charged with spirit, pouring in an irregular fire. The English reserved their fire till the French were within forty yards of their line, and then made a terrible discharge. This was continued, and the French could not withstand the strength and vigor of the

attack. They were driven back in all quarters ; 500 were slain ; and over 1,000 prisoners were taken, and the English victory was complete. Both generals had determined to conquer or die, and the result was death : Wolfe and Montcalm both fell at the head of their troops, on the heights of Abraham.

The French were dispirited, and on the 18th of September Quebec surrendered to the English.

Great rejoicings were held throughout New England at the news of the fall of Quebec. At Newbury was a grand Barbecue, and the whole town went out to commemorate the event, in eating an ox and in singing songs—one of which ended each stanza with “the year fifty-nine”—in this way :

“ De la C—— had a squadron so nimble and light,
On meeting Boscawen, like a Frenchman, took flight ;
But, running too fast on some mighty design,
He lost both his legs in the year fifty-nine.”

While Wolfe was acting against Quebec, General Amherst had been making his advances against Ticonderoga. At first the French determined to hold out, but on the night of the 27th July they dismantled the fortifications, and retreated to Crown Point, which they also soon abandoned. To that point Amherst advanced. Thence he sent out Major Rogers, of New Hampshire, at the head of 200 of his Rangers, who attacked and destroyed the Indian town of St. François, killing 200 of the Indians on the spot.

Prideaux and Johnson marched westward to Niagara, and laid siege to the fort in July. Prideaux was shortly killed by the bursting of a gun, when Colonel Johnson took the command. A large body of French and Indians, sent from Detroit, Presqu'île, and other points, Johnson intercepted, and a battle was fought in sight of the fort, in which the English were completely successful ; the fort then surrendered on the 24th of July, the day on which the battle was fought.

The year 1760 opened with dark prospects for the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who held command of Canada at Montreal. The English and provincials made their advances in three divisions, and gradually drew near Montreal. The case was hopeless for Vaudreuil, and when he saw the army drawn up against him, he sent out a flag of truce and surrendered; on the 8th of September.

The whole of Canada was thus conquered for Great Britain, which for more than seventy years had been endeavoring to get possession of it. Its possession was confirmed by the Treaty of Peace at Paris in 1763. One great danger was removed from the colonies, growing out of the presence on their borders of an active and unfriendly nation; but the wars from first to last had cost the lives of nigh 30,000 men, and millions of money.

During these campaigns, Massachusetts kept in the field nigh 7,000 men, and Connecticut 5,000; while New Hampshire and Rhode Island did their share of the destroying work. The cost of these, without counting the loss of life, was enormous, and entailed overwhelming debt and disturbance upon the colonies. England made some grants toward paying their expenses, which for the war of 1760 was £350,000; of this England reimbursed £200,000 only. But for all this, the colonies derived some benefit. Long peace and prosperity weaken nations, and then they yield up liberty, and right, and religion, rather than their ease and money-getting. The presence of danger, and the habits of the field, kept the people alive, and accustomed them to arms. It also called men into action, and gave a military education, not only to the people themselves, but to their officers; such as Winthrop, Whiting, Lyman, Wooster, and Putnam, from Connecticut; Church, March, Pepperell, and Winslow, from Massachusetts; Williams, Starke, Lovewell, Blanchard, Hart, and Goffe, from New Hampshire, and many others. The people were used to danger and arms, and when the hour of trial came they were ready to meet it.

CHAPTER VI.

VERMONT AND THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS.

FIRST SETTLEMENT, 1724—"NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS"—BENNINGTON—SETTLERS POUR IN—NEW YORK CLAIMS—COLDEN'S AND WENTWORTH'S PROCLAMATIONS—THE KING'S DECISION—THE CONTEST BEGINS—THE SETTLERS RESIST NEW YORK—ETHAN ALLEN CHOSEN LEADER—THE GODS OF THE HILLS—"THE BEECH SEAL"—THE LAWYERS AND THE LAWLESS—NEW PROCLAMATIONS—GOVERNOR TRYON—LAWS AND LYNCHINGS—IMMEDIATE DEATH—THE "REVOLUTION" BEGUN—THE CONTROVERSY SETTLED—VERMONT A STATE, 1777—ETHAN ALLEN—HIS RELIGIOUS WRITINGS—SETH WARNER—BORDER MEN—THE PEPPERAGE-TREE AND THE LIGHTNING.

THE wars with the French in Canada, had made the sheltered valleys and wooded heights of the picturesque country west of the Connecticut river, a thoroughfare, and thus had brought them to the knowledge of New England pioneers.

In 1696, Governor Fletcher, of New York, made an extravagant grant of lands, on the east side of the Hudson river, extending seventy miles above Saratoga, which grant was revoked in 1699. Massachusetts, in 1716, made some grants, in what is now Vermont; and in 1724, built Fort Dummer, on the Connecticut river. This was the first settlement made in the State.¹

In 1741, the boundary line was settled between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the line of New Hampshire was to continue due west till it met his Majesty's other governments. Governor Benning Wentworth assumed, therefore, that it extended as far west as that of Massachusetts: that is, to within twenty miles of the Hudson River. In 1749, he made a grant of a township, along the western line, just above the Massachusetts line, which, in his honor, was

THE NEW
HAMPSHIRE
GRANTS.

¹ Williams's Vermont, vol. ii.

named Bennington. It is called so now, and is a beautiful town.

From that time, Wentworth made grants to his friends, and to those who had money, to pay the necessary costs and fees. But it was after the peace of 1760—Canada being conquered by the English and the Colonists—that it became safe for settlers to establish themselves, on what had so long been a battle-field for French, English, and Indians. Then a rush for lands began ; and in the course of some two or three years, nigh two hundred grants had been made to eager speculators and adventurers ; and the grants extended from the Connecticut river, westward, to within twenty miles of the Hudson, and up to Lake Champlain. Settlers poured in from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, among whom were the boldest and most adventurous spirits in the border country.

The authorities of New York, perceiving this movement, and desiring to profit by it, referred back to the years 1664 and 1674, when Charles II. had granted all the lands, west of Connecticut river, and extending to Delaware Bay, to the Duke of York. As this grant had never been respected by Connecticut or Massachusetts, it had been considered a dead letter. But in 1763, Governor Colden, of New York, determined to check the proceedings of these New England pioneers, and issued his proclamation, asserting the validity of the claims of New York, and commanding the sheriff to make a return of all persons taking possession of the lands claimed by New York. Governor Wentworth met this by his proclamation, declaring the grant to the Duke of York obsolete, and asserting the rights of New Hampshire. He exhorted the settlers to cultivate their lands, and not be intimidated. New York appealed to the King ; and, in 1764, his Majesty declared the western bank of the Connecticut river *to be* the boundary line between New York and New Hampshire. But this phrase, “to be,” might mean then

and thenceforth, and might not date backward. A question then arose, as to whether the purchases heretofore made from New Hampshire were valid or not. New York decided they were not, and directed the settlers to take out new grants from New York. The fees for a township were some two thousand six hundred dollars, and the settlers refused to pay them again. Actions of ejectment were then begun in the Courts of Albany, against "the Green Mountain Boys," who held possession of lands by grants from New Hampshire. Then the rights of settlers were brought to an issue, and the contest began.

The settlers would, no doubt, have submitted quietly to a change of jurisdiction from New Hampshire to New York, had not New York claimed the right to sell those lands over again in the King's name, which had already been sold in his name by New Hampshire. New York proceeded to impose heavy fines and quit-rents, which the people would not bear. They said, "The New Hampshire Grants," as the lands were then called, "had been made to them, paid for by them, cultivated by them, and they were determined to hold them;" and they did.

In 1767, upon full representations being made by the Green Mountain settlers, the King ordered New York to suspend her proceedings; but the order was not regarded, and the exasperation afterward (1774) rose so high that the Government of New York passed an order, that settlers who should refuse to surrender, etc., should suffer death. The enormity of the penalty simply induced determined men to set it at defiance.

When the Legislature, and Judges, and Lawyers of New York, proceeded to re-sell and grant these lands, and to issue writs of ejectment against these settlers unless they would again purchase their own property, they determined to resist; they combined themselves for the purpose, and chose Ethan Allen for their leader. They defied the officers who came from New York to serve the writs, and

finally sent Allen to New Hampshire for necessary proofs, and to Connecticut to engage the services of Lawyer Ingersoll; and with these he went to the courts at Albany. But the courts there were in the interest of the New York speculators, and decided fully against him and his "New Hampshire Grants." As Allen left the court, one of the New Yorkers said lightly, "Might sometimes prevails over right, friend Allen."

Allen replied—

"The Gods of the Valleys are not the Gods of the Hills." And he waved his hand to them, and stalked back to his mountain home. The Bennington men then resolved to stand by one another, for they had no doubt of their rights, and they laughed the orders of the New York Courts to scorn. Whenever an officer came to eject a man, it was the signal for a rush, and the officer received rough handling, unless he would depart; he was sent smarting away, under the sharp persuasion found in "the twigs of the wilderness," and warned not to come again. This application of rods to the backs of the Sheriff's officers was called, in border wit, "The Beech Seal."

Dr. A. was tried by the rebellious people at Bennington, and was then hoisted in a chair to the top of a high tree, where for two hours he was left hanging, face to face with a stuffed and grinning catamount; which the mob enjoyed greatly, if he did not. He was then let down, and, with his face turned toward New York, was told to "go and sin no more."

"The Green Mountain Boys" formed "Committees of Safety," and from time to time met in convention. Their most active men were Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and Remember Baker; who were sustained by nearly the whole body of settlers in their "illegal" proceedings.

The contest went on, and became a sort of duel between the Lawyers and the Lawless—between the Officials of New York and the Settlers of Vermont (then a part of

New Hampshire). The Governor of New York put forth a new proclamation, offering a hundred and fifty pounds reward for the seizure of Allen, and fifty pounds for Warner and some others. Allen and his friends sent out their Proclamation, offering five pounds for the Attorney-General of New York, which was as much as they thought him worth. When they heard that Governor Tryon was coming with British troops, to reduce them to subjection to New York laws, they resolved that "It was their duty to oppose Governor Tryon and his troops to the utmost of their power." But Tryon was a man of too much sense and magnanimity to engage in such a scheme, and he wrote them a letter (1772). The result was a conference, and a stay for the time of both legal and illegal proceedings. But only for a time ; they were soon revived with more malignity than before. The New York claimants urged and forced on their "Law," and the Settlers defended their "Rights," as superior to a thousand New York Laws. Lynchings, commotions, and riots were the natural consequence ; and, finally, the New York Assembly was persuaded to pass a decree, citing Allen and some others to appear before their Courts, and ordering them to be tried ; if they did not come, sentence to be passed as if present.

The "Green Mountain Boys" replied, "The printed sentences of death will not kill us ; and if the executioners approach us, they will be as likely to fall victims as we."

The Mountaineers issued proclamations of a bold and defiant tone. April 26, 1774, they say—"We, therefore, advertise such officers, and all persons whatsoever, that we are resolved to inflict IMMEDIATE DEATH on whomsoever may attempt the same (to apprehend us) ; for, by these presents, we give any such disposed persons to understand, that although they have a license by the law aforesaid to *kill* us, and an 'indemnification' for such murder from the same authority ; yet they have no in-

demnification for so doing from the *Green Mountain Boys.*"

These papers were signed by

ETHAN ALLEN,
SETH WARNER,
REMEMBER BAKER,
ROBERT COCKRAN,
PELEG SUNDERLAND,
JOHN SMITH,
SILVANUS BROWN.

They made a spirited remonstrance to Governor Tyron against being annexed to New York (June 5, 1774), in which they say, "We would acquaint your Excellency, that since our misfortune of being annexed to the province of New York, Law has been rather used as a tool (than a rule of Equity) to cheat us out of the Country we have made valuable by labor, and expense of our fortunes. If we do not oppose the Sheriff and his posse, he takes immediate possession of our houses and farms ; and if we do, we are immediately indicted rioters—there being no end to indictments against us, so long as we act the bold and manly part, and stand by our Liberty.¹

The Mountaineers would not yield an inch, and the rival parties continued to worry one another. What the end might have been, had there been no interruption of hostilities, it is not easy now to say ; but if the New Yorkers had been sustained by English troops, the Vermonters might have been driven off, or they might have given the signal for Revolution—which was sounded elsewhere. When the Revolutionary War broke out, this quarrel for a time was forgotten, but the settlers kept possession of their lands with a stern grip. Vermont assumed and exercised the powers of self-government, and has continued to do so since that day.

The Controversy was finally settled in 1790, New York agreeing to withdraw all claims to lands in Vermont, and

¹ Slade's Vermont State Papers, Middlebury, 1823.

Vermont agreeing to pay New York thirty thousand dollars, on account of grants that had been made by New York.

The people of the "New Hampshire Grants" declared themselves a separate and Independent State, under the title of "Vermont," January 15, 1777; and by act of Congress, came into the Union (Feb. 18) 1791.

ETHAN ALLEN was born at Roxbury, Litchfield county, Connecticut (about 1750), and being a man of reckless daring, had come up, among other raw-boned, lathy fellows, to hunt bears, and to seek good lands, among the New Hampshire grants. He was not likely to be second in any exciting adventure.

He led in the capture of Ticonderoga [1775], and early in the Revolution proposed an expedition against Canada. With one hundred and ten men, he engaged in an attack upon Montreal [1775], was taken prisoner, and sent to England, where he languished for a year, and was brutally treated. It was not till May, 1776, that he was exchanged, when he at once offered his services to Washington. He was placed by Vermont at the head of her militia, and continued to be an active and leading man there. In 1781, the Tories and British tried to bribe him to come over, with "The Green Mountain Boys," and fight their old enemy, New York; but he steadily resisted, though he met craft with craft, and kept them in suspense.¹

With the same reckless daring that characterized his whole life, he feared no more to speak and write than to fight; and he was the author of a "Vindication of the People of Vermont" (published in 1779), and of other papers. But the most singular of his published works was—"Reason the only Oracle of Man, or a Compendious System of Natural Religion. Bennington, 1784."

With his usual boldness, he went right to his point; and in the face of the whole New England Churches, he

¹ A Narrative of the Capture of Ethan Allen, written by himself. 1779.

held, that God was the Author of all things, and that we owe loyalty to him, and to the principles of justice, morality, and goodness ; but that these principles are inherent in the Human Reason, and that a special Revelation was unnecessary, and that all such, therefore, as well as all miracles, were simply useless and incredible.

Such a work would be likely to be a crude performance, and, coming from Ethan Allen, almost preposterous ; but it has, of course, been abused beyond its deserts.

SETH WARNER was another Connecticut boy—born at Woodbury, in 1744. He became a famous hunter and woodman, and was settled at Bennington, in 1773. He was with Allen at the capture of Ticonderoga [1775], with Montgomery at the attack on Montreal, and at Quebec [1776], and in 1777 he was the right-hand man of General Stark, at the defeat of Baum, at the battle of Bennington.

He died in 1785, at the early age of forty-one, leaving a family, who were supported by valuable lands granted them from the young State.

Allen, and Warner, and Baker, were stalwart borderers, with the daring and activity of men who, having left the security of houses and towns, depend upon the strength of their good right hands. To them, nature was a mother, and the storm and sunshine were companions. They were renowned hunters ; and depending upon their rifles, could not be frightened with fears of want, which beset the crowded populations of cities. Their virtues and vices were such as a free border life is apt to call into activity, and they are not therefore to be judged by the men of the cloister or the closet—by those who receive the sunlight, diluted through the windows of New Haven or Oxford. They were brave, generous, active, and were moved by a rough sense of Justice. They cared no more for the technical, lawyer-like claims which New York made to their lands, than for those of bears and Indians.

They were not only bold, but reckless in their resistance

to both, and their manners were quite unfit for ball-rooms of Duchesses. Their clothes were skins, like Robinson Crusoe's, and their language was of the strongest kind. They drank rum, as nearly all people at that day did, and they suffered for it ; still it does not appear that they became drunken beasts and "border-ruffians;" but with all, they retained their uprightness, and were manly to the end ; and it should be remembered by those who are shocked at their rude, our-of-door manners, that the feebleness of over-refinement, which now prevails, is more contemptible than the roughness and even riot of that day were offensive.

The following incident will illustrate their character and the times :

Woodmen well know how gnarled, and cross-grained, and tough the wood of the pepperage-tree is, and that it may be hewn in pieces, but can not be split. One of the largest of these "pipridges" stood a short distance in front of Allen's cabin. One afternoon, Ethan stood in his door-way, watching the dark thunder-cloud as it rolled out, and opened its watery, windy caverns. It came up from the West, and spread over the sky, and sent down to the earth those streams of lightning so irresistible—those hammer-strokes of Thor. The storm burst around him, and down came the blazing bolt on the head of the Pepperage, almost blinding Allen.

He cried out—"By God, you've got your match now!" and when the blaze passed, there stood the tree, dead and bleared, sure enough, but erect and sound;—the lightning could not split it.

With these brief sketches of these men, we will pass on to where in this History we shall meet them again.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SAYBROOK PLATFORM.

THE CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM AND CONFESSION OF FAITH.

In chapter xlv. of volume i., some particulars are given of the Churches and their government. "The Cambridge Platform" was adopted by nearly all the Congregational Churches in New England, and continued to be the guide in Connecticut also, for nigh sixty years. But some were not entirely satisfied with it, as it made no provision for the meetings of Ministers, or for their union in Associations or Consociations. So, in 1688, the Legislature of Connecticut authorized several Ministers of the Colony to meet at Saybrook, to devise a plan of Church union and discipline. But nothing definite seems to have been done, till the year 1703, when the Churches held a Synod, and adopted the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, and drew up some Rules, preparatory to another Synod.

In 1707, the Minister, Gurdon Saltonstall, was elected Governor of Connecticut. He took the matter in hand, and pressed it forward. As he was a politician, as well as a divine and man of talent, he had an important influence in the formation of the Saybrook Platform, which was adopted in 1708.

The Religious History of New England is so important, that it will be best to preserve this Document in the words of its authors. In May, 1708, the Legislature of the State passed an Act, requiring the Ministers to meet, and agree upon a Constitution. These are their words :

"This assembly, from their own observation, and the complaint of many others, being made sensible of the defects of the discipline of the churches of

this government, arising from the want of a more explicit asserting of the rules given for that end in the holy scriptures; from which would arise a permanent establishment among ourselves, a good and regular issue in cases subject to ecclesiastical discipline, glory to Christ, our head, and edification to his members; hath seen fit to ordain and require, and it is by the authority of the same ordained and required, that the ministers of the several counties in this government shall meet together, at their respective county towns, with such messengers, as the churches to which they belong shall see cause to send with them, on the last Monday in June next; there to consider and agree upon those methods and rules for the management of ecclesiastical discipline, which by them shall be judged agreeable and conformable to the word of God, and shall, at the same meeting, appoint two or more of their number to be their delegates, who shall all meet together at Saybrook, at the next commencement to be held there; where they shall compare the results of the ministers of the several counties, and out of and from them, to draw a form of ecclesiastical discipline, which, by two or more persons delegated by them, shall be offered to this court, at their session at New Haven, in October next, to be considered of and confirmed by them: and the expense of the above-mentioned meetings shall be defrayed out of the public treasury of this colony.

“A true copy of the record,

“Test. ELEAZER KIMBERLY, Secretary.”

“According to the act of the assembly, the ministers and churches of the several counties convened, at the time appointed, and made their respective drafts of discipline, and chose their delegates for the general meeting at Saybrook, in September.

“The ministers and messengers chosen for this council, and its result, will appear from their minutes.”

“At a meeting of delegates from the councils of the several counties of Connecticut colony, in New England, in America, at Saybrook, Sept. 9th, 1708,

PRESENT,

From the council of Hartford county:—The Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, Noadiah Russell, and Stephen Mix. Messenger, John Haynes, Esq.

From the council in Fairfield county:—The Rev. Charles Chauncey and John Davenport. Messenger, deacon Samuel Hoyt.

From the council in New London county:—The Rev. James Noyes, Thomas Buckingham, Moses Noyes, and John Woodward. Messengers, Robert Chapman, deacon William Parker.

From the council of New Haven county:—The Rev. Samuel Andrew, James Pierpont, and Samuel Russell.

The Rev. James Noyes and Thomas Buckingham being chosen moderators. The Rev. Stephen Mix and John Woodward being chosen scribes.

In compliance with an order of the general assembly, May 13th, 1708, after humble addresses to the throne of grace for the divine presence, assist-

ance, and blessing upon us, having our eyes upon the word of God and the constitution of our churches, WE agree that the confession of faith owned and assented unto by the elders and messengers assembled at Boston, in New England, May 12th, 1680, being the second session of that synod, be recommended to the honorable general assembly of this colony, at the next session, for their public testimony thereunto, as the FAITH of the churches of this colony.

We agree also, that the heads of agreement assented to by the united ministers, formerly called presbyterian and congregational, be observed by the churches throughout this colony.¹

And for the better regulation of the administration of church discipline, in relation to all cases ecclesiastical, both in particular churches and councils, to the full determining and executing the rules in all such cases, it is agreed,

I. That the elder, or elders of a particular church, with the consent of the brethren of the same, have power, and ought to exercise church discipline, according to the rule of God's word, in relation to all scandals that fall out within the same. And it may be meet, in all cases of difficulty, for the respective pastors of particular churches, to take advice of the elders of the churches in the neighborhood, before they proceed to censure in such cases.

II. That the churches which are neighboring to each other, shall consociate, for mutual affording to each other such assistance as may be requisite, upon all occasions ecclesiastical. And that the particular pastors and churches, within the respective counties in this government, shall be one consociation (or more, if they shall judge meet), for the end aforesaid.

III. That all cases of scandal, that fall out within the circuit of any of the aforesaid consociations, shall be brought to a council of the elders, and also messengers of the churches within the said circuit, i. e., the churches of one consociation, if they see cause to send messengers, when there shall be need of a council for the determination of them.

IV. That, according to the common practice of our churches, nothing shall be deemed an act or judgment of any council, which hath not the act of the major part of the elders present concurring, and such a number of the messengers present, as makes the majority of the council: provided that if any such church shall not see cause to send any messengers to the council, or the persons chosen by them shall not attend, neither of these shall be any obstruction to the proceedings of the council, or invalidate any of their acts.

V. That when any case is orderly brought before any council of the churches, it shall there be heard and determined, which (unless orderly removed from thence), shall be a final issue; and all parties therein concerned shall sit down and be determined thereby. And the council so hearing, and giving the result or final issue, in the said case, as aforesaid, shall see their determination, or judgment, duly executed and attended, in such way or

¹ The heads of agreement here referred to, were adopted by the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in England, about the year 1690.

manner, as shall, in their judgment, be most suitable and agreeable to the word of God.

VI. That if any pastor and church doth obstinately refuse a due attendance and conformity to the determination of the council, that hath the cognizance of the case, and determineth it as above, after due patience used, they shall be reputed guilty of scandalous contempt, and dealt with as the rule of God's word in such case doth provide, and the sentence of non-communication shall be declared against such pastor and church. And the churches are to approve of the said sentence, by withdrawing from the communion of the pastor and church, which so refused to be healed.

VII. That, in case any difficulties shall arise in any of the churches in this colony, which can not be issued without considerable disquiet, that church, in which they arise (or that minister or member aggrieved with them), shall apply themselves to the council of the consociated churches of the circuit, to which the said church belongs; who, if they see cause, shall thereupon convene, hear, and determine such cases of difficulty, unless the matter brought before them, shall be judged so great in the nature of it, or so doubtful in the issue, or of such general concern, that the said council shall judge best that it be referred to a fuller council, consisting of the churches of the other consociation within the same county (or of the next adjoining consociation of another county, if there be not two consociations in the county where the difficulty ariseth), who, together with themselves, shall hear, judge, determine, and finally issue such case, according to the word of God.

VIII. That a particular church, in which any difficulty doth arise, may, if they see cause, call a council of the consociated churches of the circuit to which the church belongs, before they proceed to sentence therein; but there is not the same liberty to an offending brother, to call the council, before the church to which he belongs proceed to excommunication in the said case, unless with the consent of the church.

IX. That all the churches of the respective consociations shall choose, if they see cause, one or two members of each church, to represent them in the councils of the said churches, as occasion may call for them, who shall stand in that capacity till new be chosen for the same service, unless any church shall incline to choose their messengers anew, upon the convening of such councils.

X. That the minister or ministers of the county towns, or where there are no ministers in such towns, the two next ministers to the said town, shall, as soon as conveniently may be, appoint time and place for the meeting of the elders and messengers of the churches in said county, in order to their forming themselves into one or more consociations, and notify the time and place to the elders and churches of that county who shall attend at the same, the elders in their persons, and the churches by their messengers, if they see cause to send them. Which elders and messengers, so assembled in council, as also any other council hereby allowed of, shall have power to adjourn themselves, as need shall be, for the space of one year, after the beginning

or first session of the said council, and no longer. And that minister who was chosen at the last session of any council, to be moderator, shall, with the advice and consent of two more elders (or, in case of the moderator's death, any two elders of the same consociation), call another council within the circuit, when they shall judge there is need thereof. And all councils may prescribe rules, as occasion may require, and whatever they judge needful within their circuit, for the well performing and orderly managing the several acts, to be attended by them, or matters that come under their cognizance.

XI. That if any person or persons, orderly complained of to a council, or that are witnesses to such complaints (having regular notification to appear), shall refuse, or neglect so to do, in the place, and at the time specified in the warning given, except they or he give some satisfying reason thereof to the said council, they shall be judged guilty of scandalous contempt.

XII. That the teaching elders of each county shall be one association (or more, if they see cause), which association, or associations, shall assemble twice a year, at least, at such time and place as they shall appoint, to consult the duties of their office, and the common interest of the churches, who shall consider and resolve questions and cases of importance which shall be offered by any among themselves or others; who also shall have power of examining and recommending the candidates of the ministry to the work thereof.

XIII. That the said associated pastors shall take notice of any among themselves, that may be accused of scandal or heresy, unto or cognizable by them, examine the matter carefully, and if they find just occasion shall direct to the calling of the council, where such offenders shall be duly proceeded against.

XIV. That the associated pastors shall also be consulted by bereaved churches, belonging to their association, and recommend to such churches such persons, as may be fit to be called and settled in the work of the gospel ministry among them. And if such bereaved churches shall not seasonably call and settle a minister among them, the said associated pastors shall lay the state of such bereaved church before the general assembly of this colony, that they may take order concerning them, as shall be found necessary for their peace and edification.

XV. That it be recommended as expedient, that all the associations in this colony do meet in a general association, by their respective delegates, one or more out of each association, once a year, the first meeting to be at Hartford, at the general election next ensuing the date hereof, and so annually in all the counties successively, at such time and place, as they the said delegates shall in their annual meetings appoint."

"The confession of faith, heads of agreement, and these articles of discipline having unanimously passed, and been signed by the scribes, were presented to the legislature the succeeding October, for their approbation and establishment. Upon which they passed the following adopting act :

" At a general court holden at New Haven, October 1708.

"The reverend ministers, delegates from the elders and messengers of this government, met at Saybrook, September 9th, 1708, having presented to this assembly a Confession of Faith, and Heads of Agreement, and regulations in the administration of church discipline, as unanimously agreed and consented to by the elders and churches in this government; this assembly doth declare their great approbation of such an happy agreement, and do ordain, that all the churches within this government, that are, or shall be, thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline, be, and for the future shall be owned, and acknowledged established by law; provided always, that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any society or church, that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline, in their own way, according to their consciences.

" A true copy, Test,

"ELEAZER KIMBERLY, Secretary."

"The Saybrook Platform, thus unanimously recommended by the elders and messengers of the churches, and adopted by the legislature, as the religious constitution of the colony, met with a general reception, though some of the churches were extremely opposed to it."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT REVIVAL.—EDWARDS AND WHITEFIELD.

DECLENSION OF RELIGION—INDIFFERENCE AND FORMALISM—REASONS WHY—JONATHAN EDWARDS—PIOUS AND SAD—SUNDAY-NIGHT GAYETY—PHEBE BARTLETT—THE “AWAKENING”—DESPAIR—SATAN AGAIN LET LOOSE—GEORGE WHITEFIELD—PREACHES IN LONDON—GOES TO AMERICA, 1737—HIS JOURNALS—HIS ORPHAN-HOUSE—HIS VISIT TO NEW ENGLAND, TO BOSTON, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, EASTWARD—CHILDREN—GILBERT TENNENT—GOES TO NEW ENGLAND—EPIDEMIC—EXCITEMENT—WHITEFIELD ATTACKS THE MINISTERS—“FIELD-PREACHING FOREVER!”—STRONG OPPOSITION—“A DELUDER OF THE PEOPLE”—STRIFES—LAMENTATIONS—HIS DEFENSE—“CHRISTIANS NOTHING BUT CHRISTIANS!”—HIS PREACHING—EFFECT UPON FRANKLIN—JAMES DAVENPORT—“HELL-FLAMES FLASHING”—WHITEFIELD IN LISBON—HIS STORY—EFFECT OF THE REVIVAL—OVER-DOING—“NEW-LIGHTS” AND “OLD-LIGHTS”—THREE PARTIES—POLITICS—DIVISIONS—EDWARDS DISMISSED—REACTION—NEEDS OF EXCITEMENT.

THE fine gold of Puritanism had begun to grow dim before the first “Fathers” were in their graves ; for the self-sacrificing, stern, religious impulse, which established the New England colonies, had yielded a little to the necessities of a hardy life ; and new fertile lands had become more beautiful in some eyes than the distinctions of doctrine ; so, too, when the fierce King Philip’s war raged in New England, the preservation of life was dearer to many than the extension of the Church. This was bitterly lamented by some in the 17th Century ; Torrey, of Weymouth, said (1683), “Already a great death upon Religion, little more left than a name.” Willard, of Boston, said, “How few thorough conversions—how scarce and seldom !”—“It hath been observed, that if one generation begins to decline, the next that follows usually grows worse, and so on, till God pours out his Spirit again upon them.”

The old men said, roughly, “How are our Churches receded from their first principles ?”¹ Beware “lest Satan

¹ Old Men’s Tears for their Declensions : 1691.

should glory over the HEBREW CHILD JESUS—lest Abaddon and Apollyon, with their infernal Ignatian Janisaries, the Locusts of the Bottomless Pit, should triumph over Zion's King, giving the honor to Igne Naie, Hell-born LOYOLA, the Canadians' Titular Saint."

This decline was set forth at large by Increase Mather, in his Sermon published (Boston, 1729) under the title of "ICHABOD, or a Discourse showing what cause there is to fear that the GLORY of the Lord is departing from New England."

To the Clergy this decline was a serious matter, and a strong effort had been made by some of them, led on by Cotton Mather, to improve the Salem witchcraft excitement, in the close of the 17th century (1692), to awaken the souls of men to a new interest in Religious things. But the reaction which followed it was against the church; and from that time there was much indifference among the people, and much formality among "Professors."

There were two reasons for this: First, the mind can not CONTINUE in an exalted state; it requires rest, and must subside: Second, there was no outside pressure, to keep the Puritans on guard; no longer persecuted, of course discipline relaxed. Other things also had an influence; such as making the support of ministers a town tax, instead of a church matter (1677); and the Halfway Covenant (1662), which admitted non-professors to the Communion table.¹

Whatever causes may have operated, it seems certain that the churches had ceased to engross the thoughts and hopes of men.

The time came when the tide turned, and the flood began to sweep along the shores. At this time (1735), a young and remarkable man, named Jonathan Edwards, was the clergyman at Northampton, in Massachusetts; born at East Windsor, Connecticut, in the year 1703, he was then thirty-two years

JONATHAN
EDWARDS.

¹ Bacon's Discourses.

old ; of a slight figure and nervous temperament, with small animal life, and low spirits. Before he left College, he was distressed as to his own sinfulness, and bewailed it with tears ; afterward, while in New York, he walked alone in the woods and fields to indulge in self-examination ; and at such times was subject to singular experiences ; we find such entries as these in his diaries :

“Once,” he says, “as I rode out into the woods for my health, having alighted from my horse in a retired place, as my manner commonly has been, to walk for divine contemplation and prayer, I had a view that for me was extraordinary, of the glory of the Son of God, as Mediator between God and man.” “The person of Christ appeared ineffably excellent, with an excellency great enough to swallow up all thought and conception—which continued, as near as I can judge, about an hour, which kept me, the greater part of the time, in a flood of tears, and weeping aloud.¹

“I have many times had a sense of the glory of the third person in the Trinity, in his office of Sanctifier.

“Often since I lived in this town, I have had very affecting views of my own sinfulness and vileness, very frequently to such a degree as to hold me in a loud weeping, sometimes for a considerable time together ; so that I have often been forced to shut myself up.

“I know not how to express better what my sins appear to me to be, than by heaping infinite upon infinite ; and yet it seems to me my conviction of sin is exceeding small and faint. It is enough to derange me.”

We find at this time of his life, a minute dissection of his soul recorded daily, in which he speaks of himself as “dull,” “decayed,” “reviving,” etc. We find, also, a record of seventy resolutions respecting himself, intended to make him wise unto salvation, which he read once a week. He wrote much upon Religious things or thoughts, and his thorough work upon “The Freedom of the Will”

¹ Edwards's Works, vol. i., Ed. 1808.

(pub. 1754), still holds a first place, not as a readable book, but as an elaborate and subtle Metaphysical treatise, interesting to some minds ; it was the book of a Century.

Full of an earnest piety, he was indifferent to the necessary matters of this life ; his mind, analytical, introspective, subtle, tended toward severe, if not morbid views of life and death. To a young, sad-eyed minister, like Edwards, the gay careless, restless, pleasure-seeking young people presented a strange sight ; he felt that they were standing between two Eternities, in danger of the wrath of God, and the torments of Hell ; and he was moved to tell them so. A singular custom prevailed then, growing out of the New England habit of looking upon Saturday night as a part of the Sabbath, while Sunday night was as ordinary time. As Saturday night was holy time, Sunday night came to be the gayest night of the week, which the young men and maidens spent in visitings and merry-makings, and the elders in gossiping at their houses, or the Taverns. To the sensitive nature of Edwards, this transition from the solemnity of the Sabbath, seemed like levity, if not sin, and he preached strenuously against it. His earnestness and perseverance, could not but have an effect, which was powerfully aided by some untimely deaths ; the profound, subtle, religious element of the soul was touched, and an interest was excited, which pulsed from heart to heart. Meetings were better attended, young and old listened ; the talk was about sin and salvation, no longer about dances and farthingales ; from house to house the question went, "What shall we do to be saved ?" and young people cared no more to meet for merry-making, but came to Edwards to compare "Experiences ;" and those who had laughed loudest, now bewailed their lost condition, with most tears. Edwards said :

"Presently I was surprised with the relation of a young woman, who had been one of the greatest company-keepers in the whole town. 'The work of God, as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made

a glorious alteration in the town. It was a time of joy in families ;” thus the tide began to flow. Some of the “experiences” (of the few recorded by Edwards), were singular.¹ He writes of one :

“She told her brother in the morning, that she had seen (*i. e.*, in realizing views by faith), Christ the last night, and that she had really thought that she had not knowledge enough to be converted ; but, said she, God can make it quite easy ; on Monday she felt all day a sweetness in her soul.” She was afterward in the habit of saying over, “meek, and lowly in heart ; meek, and lowly in heart.”

This, as follows, is astonishing :

Phebe Bartlett, a child of *four years old*, was converted. She was accustomed to go into her mother’s closet to pray ; and at one time, in answer to her mother, said, “she was afraid she should go to Hell, but hoped God would give her salvation.” She cried over her brothers and sisters, and when induced by a person who had given her an *apple*, to tell why, “she said she was afraid she would go to Hell.” She was eager to go to church “to hear Mr. Edwards preach, not to see the fine clothes ;” and she would cry, when she had not said her catechism.²

This state of feeling spread from Northampton, like circles from the center of a lake. South Hadley felt the thrill, then Deerfield, Westfield, and Northfield. It extended down to Connecticut, to Windsor, Coventry, Guilford, and men spoke of the “awakening,” “pouring out of the Spirit of God,” “showers of divine blessings ;” and so on. Self-consciousness was excited, and people’s thoughts turned in upon themselves ; they forsook the taverns, and were filled with fear and “awful apprehensions,” and many were at the “borders of Despair,” their mouths were filled with texts of Scripture, and the converted ones went about exhorting others. Different temperaments were differently affected ; some went into paroxysms of laughter, some of tears ; some were exalted with the joys of Heaven, others

¹ Narrative of surprising conversions ; Works, vol. iii. ² Vol. iii., p. 73.

depressed with fears of Hell; and some were sure they had committed the "unpardonable sin," having no idea what that was.

Edwards says, truly enough, "There were many need-less distresses, in which Satan probably had a hand." But hundreds joined themselves to the churches, being thus, as they hoped, secure from the "wrath to come." Women, and excitable men too, often came to believe that they were peculiarly instructed by God, and to presume upon it, and to become rather troublesome to the ministers.

Human nature could not continue in this state of excitement, and of course it subsided of itself for a time.¹

"In the latter part of May," Mr. Edwards says, "it began to be very sensible that the Spirit of God was gradually withdrawing from us, and after this time Satan seemed to be more let loose, and raged in a dreadful manner. The first instance wherein it appeared was a person putting an end to his own life by cutting his throat; he was a gentleman of more than common understanding, of strict morals, religious in his behavior, and a useful, honorable person in the town,"—with a tendency, however, to melancholy.² He had been exceedingly concerned for his soul, but grew much discouraged, of which "the Devil took advantage." "Some," said Edwards, "compared what we called conversion to certain Distempers." But whatever it was, it continued for some years, and went on from town to town; and it received a new impulse in the year 1740.

Then George Whitefield came the second time to America (1739).³ He was the son of an innkeeper, and had been a student at Oxford, where he knew Charles and John Wesley, and was awakened by them to the importance of piety and religious works. He devoted himself to self-examination and to

GEO. WHITE-
FIELD.

¹ Holmes's Annals.

² Edwards's Letter to Coleman, p. 77.

³ See his Life and Times, by Robert Philip, London, 1838.

prayers ; on Sundays to works of charity, and to visiting the poor and the sick. He was abstinent to a fault, and at times suffered the natural punishment of a disordered stomach—excessive melancholy and depression. After having received the first ordination of the Episcopal Church, he was invited to preach in London, being then but twenty-two years old, where he produced an extraordinary effect. With a slender and graceful person, one of the most musical and powerful voices ever heard, a manner free and natural, an ardent zeal and impassioned oratory, and earnest piety—these moved himself, and electrified his hearers. He was invited to take a parish in London, but the Wesleys had written to him of America, and to them he went to Georgia in 1737 (arrived at Savannah, May, 1738). A few extracts from his “Journal” (London, 1739) will interest us, and give an insight into the character of the man.

At Savannah, the morning after his arrival from a long sea voyage, he writes :

“Monday, May 8, 1738.—Began to read public prayers, and to expound the second Lesson, at *five in the morning*, to seventeen adults and twenty-four children.”

In June, he met with a man who denied “the Eternity of Hell Torments,” believing rather in the Annihilation of the wicked. After arguing with him without success, Whitefield writes : “I told him, with the utmost calmness, that I was sorry that I gave him the Cup yesterday at the Sacrament, but for the future he must pardon me if I refused ever to give it to him again.”¹

Again : “Had a good instance of the benefit of breaking Children’s Wills betimes. Last night, going between decks, asked one of the women to bid her little boy, who stood by her, say his prayers. This the child declined to do. I then bid it say the Lord’s Prayer (being informed by his mother he could say it if he would), but he obstinately refused, till at last, after I had given it several

¹ Journal, p. 4.

blows, it said its prayers as well as could be expected, and I gave it some figs for a reward. And this same child, though not above four years of age, came to-night on deck, when the other children came to say their prayers, and burst into a flood of tears, and would not go away till he had said his, too."

We should not now expect a child of four to be very prayerful after "several blows."

"Wrote several letters to my friends at Savannah, and was filled with the *Holy Ghost*.¹

"My power and freedom of speech increase daily, and this afternoon I was carried out much, in bearing my testimony against the unchristian principles and practices of our clergy." "Perhaps this may cost me my life ; but what have I to do with that ?"

"Here the Lord gave me a spirit of Prayer ; I wrestled with God in behalf of myself and friends ; supped comfortably ; sung a Hymn, and went to Rest."

"The more I am opposed, the more God enlightens my understanding."

"I find action is the best way to take oppression off the spirits."

"Went to St. Helens, where Satan withstood me greatly ; for on a sudden I was deserted, and my strength went from me.

"The church was greatly thronged, and after I had done, prayers were put up on all sides for my safe journey and return. After this, the people waited in great companies to see and follow me, but I got from them by going out at a back door."—P. 19.

"But I must not stay by the way, Lord ; lo, I come ; only I beseech thee open an effectual door."

"Began to put those of my family into Bands." These are sufficient to show his fervor and self-satisfaction.

Near Savannah he established an "Orphan house" for destitute children, and undertook to supply its wants,

¹ Page 12 of the Continuation.

which for a long time he did with success. He seems not to have agreed with Wesley's detestation of Slavery, which General Oglethorpe had tried to keep out of Georgia ; he said : "The people were denied the use of Rum and Slaves, so that in reality, to place a people there on such a footing, was little better than to tie their legs and bid them walk. The scheme was well meant at home." He soon became a slave-owner at his orphan house, and, in his account, printed in 1770, he classes them—men, 24 ; women, 11 ; children, 15 ; and in the college rules, he directs "The young negro boys to be *baptized*, and taught to read—the young negro girls to be taught to *work with the needle*.¹ We can not be sure whether he considered the two, baptism and sewing, equivalent, or that negro girls did not need baptism.

He returned to England, and with his usual activity, impetuosity, and zeal, went to work to rouse the people there, preaching to crowds, in the fields near London, moving them to cries and tears, and disgusting most of the regular clergy, so that they refused him their pulpits.

In September, 1740, he arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, from Savannah, and the tide of Religious feeling, which had for a time subsided, again began to flow in New England, rising higher than before.

WHITEFIELD'S
VISIT TO NEW
ENGLAND.

After preaching with much success in Rhode Island, he went to Boston, where his fame had preceded him, and where he was met by the Dignitaries, and made much of. He says, "Preached in the morning (at Boston) with much Freedom and Power to about 6,000—(this number must be exaggerated ; no church there now holds 6,000)—hearers in the Reverend Doctor Sewall's Meeting-house, and afterward on the Common to about 8,000, and again at night to a thronged Company at my Lodgings ; and on Sunday, immediately after, on the Common, to about 15,000."

¹ Philip's Life, p. 150.

He says of some of his audiences—

“Most wept for a considerable time.”

“In the afternoon collected £555, currency, for my little lambs,” meaning his orphan house at Savannah; and again, “Here also, £470.” “Went with the Governor (at Boston) in his coach to the Common, where I preached my farewell sermon to near 30,000 people.”

“The Governor was highly pleased to see the power of God.”

In his progress, he says at Northampton (Oct. 19), “Dear Mr. Edwards wept during the whole time of Exercise. The people were equally if not more affected.”

At New Haven the Governor came to him after the Discourse; “the tears trickled down his aged cheeks like drops of Rain. He was thankful to God, he said, for such Refreshings.”

“Great multitudes went away,” in New York, where he preached in small rooms, and in the fields—many refusing him the use of their churches—to whom he says, “Woe be unto those, who by their Bigotry, Prejudice, and Party Zeal, oblige us to preach the Gospel in so confined a place.”

In Philadelphia, he says, “They follow me wherever I go, as they did in London.”

He continues, “One great Reason, I believe, why Pennsylvania flourishes above other Provinces, is the liberty of Conscience which is given to all, to worship God in their own way.”

At Philadelphia, where there was much Quaker influence, and where their practices prevailed, he says, “There (in England) the generality of people think a sermon can not be preached well without a house; here they do not like it so well if delivered within Church walls.”

The Great Revival spread Eastward. “The one half was not told us,” said Edmund Coffin, in his letter from Kittery, Oct. 14, 1741. “A universal concern about their souls, and what they shall do to be saved.” “To hear

these little children of five, six, seven, and eight years old, talk so powerfully, wonderfully, and experimentally of the things of God and Christ, and particularly of the doctrine of free-grace, is unaccountable, were it not truly by the Spirit and power of the Almighty. The finger of the Lord is most certainly in this matter.”¹

“This rain of Righteousness, these dews of Heaven, were still more extensive. They descended in no small degree on various places in New Jersey” (1740).²

Even in Westerly, Rhode Island, where it was supposed that there was not one praying family, and where they ridiculed the doctrines of total depravity, etc., a Church was formed.³

The dancing halls in Philadelphia were closed, and the people flocked to hear the preachers, and neglected the usual excitements of the day.

Whitefield had fallen in with Gilbert Tennent, a young minister in Philadelphia, and inspired him with a desire for itinerating, not to be resisted. At one time the soles of his feet were blistered, in walking from place to place.

GILBERT TENNENT was born in Ireland, in 1703. After their meeting in Philadelphia, he followed Whitefield into New England, in 1741. His large figure, enveloped in a great-coat, bound around the waist with a leathern girdle, and his long, uncombed hair, united with his powers as a preacher, gave him a remarkable currency. “When he wished to alarm the sinner” (and this was found to be the most effective preaching), “he could represent in a most awful manner the terrors of the Lord.” He was bold, ardent, impulsive, and independent.

The influence of two such enthusiastic men, filled with power and zeal, was irresistible; and the epidemic spread in New England from place to place. Lecture upon lecture was set up, and ministers called upon one another for help, “to drag the gospel net,” so full of fish. Clergymen left their parishes and families, and plunged into the

¹ Coffin's Newbury.

² Trumbull, vol. ii, p. 141.

³ Trumbull, vol. ii.

rising waters, preaching and shouting from town to town ; people came many miles to hear a wonderful minister, and the streets of villages were thronged with curious and excited people, who yielded themselves to a fervor of excitement. It showed itself in strong men, as well as in women, by floods of tears, by outcries, by bodily paroxysms, jumping, falling down, and rolling on the ground, regardless of the spectators or their clothes. But it was common, that when the exciting preacher had departed, the excitement also subsided, and men and women returned peaceably to their daily duties.

When Whitefield was in Boston, he had been told that some of the Professors at Harvard College were cold, if not spiritually dead. He did not hesitate to attack them in his sermons, and to descant, with severity, upon an unregenerate clergy : it was a common topic with him, and gave great satisfaction to many converts, but great offense to the clergy. This was so decided, that, on his return to New England in 1744, he met with a cool reception, and most ministers denied him their countenance and pulpits.

But he was not thus daunted, for he had the ear of the people, into which he poured his wonderful eloquence. He sounded his old war-cry—"Field preaching ! field preaching forever !" and went forward, conquering and to conquer.

The opposition to Whitefield grew strong. Harvard and Yale Colleges both took ground against him, as did various Associations of Ministers [1744-5].

The President and Professors of Harvard College, whom he had severely attacked, speak of him without measure : "First, as to the man himself, whom we look upon as an enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable person, and a deluder of the people."¹

"That he has been guilty of gross breaches of the ninth commandment of the Moral Law, and an evident disregard

¹ The Testimony of the President, etc., against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield. Boston, 1744.

to the laws of Christian charity, as they are delivered to us in the New Testament."

They protest, too, against his *ex tempore* and itinerant preaching, as dangerous and pernicious.

This Protest was signed by Edward Holyoke, President, and by seven Professors.

Strifes and disorders began to rend the Churches, and a voice of lamentation was heard in

"*Tristitiæ Ecclesiarum*; or a Brief and Sorrowful Account of the Present State of the Churches in New England, etc.

"By Samuel Niles, a mournful Spectator and Sharer in the present Calamities, and Pastor of a Church of Christ in Braintree." Boston: 1745.

"But now, alas! too soon, strife and contention is come upon us like a flood, which threatens the overthrow of all order, and the utter subversion of our Gospel Constitution." "What an assuming temper does Mr. W——d also show in condemning our College (*vid. Jour.*, p. 96), when he says, Their light is become darkness—darkness that may be felt."

"And then, as though Mr. W. had not sufficiently broken our Churches, we were soon visited by the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Tennent," who "declares the body of the clergy of this generation to be unconverted;" and says to the people—"If they (you) should go a few miles further than ordinary, to hear those they profit most by, whom do they wrong?" And thus encouraging the people to leave their own Churches, to flock after other ministers."

Whitefield defended himself at large and ably, against being an Enthusiast; he fortified his yielding to dreams and inspirations, and impulses, by texts of Scripture and quotations from the Thirty-nine Articles. He denied that he was a Deluder of the people, and, in some measure, excused himself for speaking so harshly of Unconverted Ministers.¹

¹ "A Letter to the Rev. the President, &c., in Answer," &c., by George Whitefield, A. B., Late of Pembroke, Oxon: Boston, 1745.

William Hobby and others enlisted in his defense,¹ but various convocations of ministers joined in his condemnation.

Let us leave this detail of journeyings, and turn our attention to the man and the results of his doings.

It is not necessary to follow Whitefield to his death, which took place in 1770, or to say much more of him at this time. So far as he made out any theological theory, he was a Calvinist, and an urgent one ; and it was upon this question that he and Wesley separated and indulged in bitterness. Whitefield inclined to preach the terrors of damnation, and Wesley the Life of Love ; so, like Lot and Abraham, they went different ways. Yet he was liberal and large, and it is told of him that one day, when preaching in Philadelphia, looking up into Heaven, he cried out, “ Who is with you, blessed Lord ?—any Presbyterians ? no : any Baptists ? no : any Episcopalians ? no : who then, Oh Lord ? Christians !—nothing but Christians !”

That Whitefield was a vain man, there can be no doubt, nor can we much wonder at it. In his Journals he indulges in warm expressions of complacency :

“ I think I was never so much enlarged.

“ I preached with such sweetness and power as I have not known before.

“ Great numbers were melted into tears.

“ I was received as an Angel of God.”

Such are his own words.

He was not a man of reflection and judgment, and reliable opinions ; but an earnest, indefatigable, honest Enthusiast, tending toward Fanaticism. The effect of his preaching was, in a degree, owing to this fervor, united to a fresh, ready illustration and application of the moment, presented with a powerful voice and an impassioned delivery. He prepared his discourses carefully, but required

¹ See *An Inquiry into the Itineracy, &c., of Mr. George Whitefield*, by William Hobby, A. M., Pastor of a Church in Reading : Boston, 1745.

the stimulus of a large crowd to bring him up to his own standard. He often spoke of his failures, and referred them partly to this, and partly to the *Lord's withdrawing himself*. He became, however, by long practice, an Artist—"The Prince of Preachers," and Franklin, who was a cool man, said, "though not interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse." "Sometimes," said one, "he exceedingly wept, stamped loudly and passionately, and was frequently so overcome, that for a few seconds you would think he never could recover." "I hardly ever knew him to go through a sermon without weeping, and I truly believe his tears were of sincerity."

It is told, in illustrating his power, that when Franklin first went to hear him,¹ he had some copper, some silver, and some gold in his pocket, but had determined to give no money. As the sermon went on, he put his hand in his pocket, and thought he would give his copper; then he concluded he would give the silver; and when the sermon was ended, and the plate came, he said, "Take it all!"

Extraordinary means were resorted to by the Revivalists to excite attention and draw crowds.

James Davenport, who was a famous Revival preacher of New England at that time, is thus pictured: "He would so describe the surprise, consternation, and despair of the damned, with looks and screams of horror, that those who were capable of being moved by such a representation, seemed to see the gate of hell set open, and felt, as it were, the hot and stifling breath of the pit, and the hell-flames flashing in their faces."—"And if by such means he could cause any to scream out, he considered *that* as a sign of the special presence of the Holy Spirit, and redoubled his own exertions, till shriek after shriek, bursting from one quarter after another in hideous discord, swelled the horrors of the scene."

He is thus described by Chauncey: "Then he came out

¹ Franklin's Autobiography.

of the pulpit, and stripped off his upper garments, and got into the seats, and leaped up and down some time, and clapped his hands, and cried out in these words, 'The war goes on!—the fight goes on!—the Devil goes up!—the Devil goes down!'—and then betook himself to stamping and screaming most violently;" and so many were converted.¹

Whitefield describes a scene that he saw in a Catholic church in Lisbon, with no idea that there is a strong similarity between it and those in which he was a prominent actor. Let us read it. It seems that it was necessary to have rain, and the church and people united in a prolonged effort. "Still rain was denied, and still processions were continued. At length the clouds began to gather, and the mercury in the barometer fell very much. Then was brought out a wooden image, which they say never failed. It was the figure of our blessed Lord, clothed with purple robes, and crowned with thorns. The subsequent evening I beheld the Seigneur (the Figure) fixed on an eminence in a large Cathedral Church, near the altar, surrounded with wax tapers of a prodigious size. He was attended by many noblemen, and thousands of spectators, who were admitted by guards to come within the rails and perform their devotions. This they expressed by kneeling and kissing the Seigneur's heel, by putting their left and right eye to it, and then touching it with their beads, which a gentleman in waiting received from them and then returned." Again: "This scene was repeated for three successive days, and the space was thronged. The third day in the forenoon it rained. Then the Priest called upon the people to join him in extempore prayer, which they did with great fervency—not only repeating it aloud, but by beating their breasts, and clapping their cheeks, and weeping heartily. And I returned to my lodgings, not a little affected to see so many thousands led away from the simplicity of the Gospel by such mixture of *human artifice* and blind superstition."

¹ Bacon's Discourses.

The effects of the Great Revival were felt for years, and were in some respects disastrous. Some, from the first, had endeavored to withstand the deluge of excitement; they said, "It is not so that the heart and life are changed, but rather by the still, small voice of Conscience; though some may be awakened, many will be backsliders, and more will be hindered." Erskine, in Scotland, said, "We have convulsions, not conversions;" while Dr. Chauncey¹ wrote and labored earnestly against the "New Lights," as did Dr. Clap of New Haven, and finally many more. There was a dispute as to whether these excitements were the work of the Holy Ghost or of the Devil, which has never been decided. For the regular clergy found after a while that *they* were becoming useless in this flood of itinerants and lay-exhorters, and then they opposed the continuance of the excitement. "Overdoing is the Devil's way of undoing," Baxter once said, and so many came to believe. Whitefield himself was obliged to admit this, with regard to those, "who, mistaking fancy for faith, and imagination for revelation, were guilty of great imprudence." "But maugre all," he continued, "my poor labors are yet attended with the usual blessings."

The distraction and the dispute between the "New Lights" and the "Old Lights" waxed so hot, seemed so imminent, that the Assembly of Connecticut passed a law (1742), forbidding ministers to preach out of their own parishes without permission, and subjecting them to be treated as vagrants, and banished the colony; and Dr. Findley, of New Jersey, was so sent away for preaching at Milford.² Davenport and Pomeroy were arrested, and Davenport was sent to Long Island.

By the year 1750, the religious world of New England was split, and gathered into three parties, which may be thus expressed—

1. The Revivalists, led by James Davenport.

¹ Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England.

² Bacon's Hist. Discourses, p. 231.

2. The Moderate Revivalists, led by Edwards and Belamy.

3. The Conservatives, led by Drs. Chauncey and Clap. The question of "New Lights" and "Old Lights" also became political, and Legislatures were perplexed. The division extended into Yale College, and in 1755 a Professorship of Divinity was established (Rev. Napthali Dagget was appointed to fill it), to serve as a sort of fly-wheel to regulate the machine. The students were early confused, and David Brainerd in 1742 had said that "Tutor Whittlesey had no more grace than this chair," and had been expelled for so saying.

Mr. Noyes's church at New Haven was broken up, as were many others, and there was much exasperation. Edwards's own congregation at Northampton, notwithstanding the "Revivals" and "Outpourings," was not secure. He and the Rev. Mr. Stoddard had disagreed about the admission of persons to the communion; he had also made an exposure of some young persons who had brought in obscene books. All this led to exciting discussions, not by any means fraternal; and in 1750 the Society voted in favor of his dismissal, 180 against, to 30 in his favor.

After so many years of this strange excitement, it is not to be wondered at that people grew tired of it, and that there was a terrible reaction; so that Edwards was led to say, "Iniquity abounds, and the love of many waxes cold."

With all this, however, we should be loth to condemn too harshly; we should remember that a storm is better than stagnation, and a fever less pernicious than a palsy.

The Great Revival of 1740, and the days of Whitefield, were long talked of in New England, and they help to teach this lesson to-day, namely, that a fierce excitement carries with it its own cure, and that a steady growth in men, as in trees, is better than a forced one.

Since those days, Religious Revivals have been resorted to in New England, as well as in other parts of the country.

There is still a difference of opinion among good men, whether they result in most good or harm. They at least have served to gratify that need of excitement, which exists in New England, as well as elsewhere among men, and which there has had little other means of satisfaction. There can be no doubt that strong preaching, shouting, singing, and violent physical exertions, will produce an immediate, powerful, and surprising effect upon a nervous and excitable people; and there can be little doubt, that people resorted to them, and found in them, relief from the dull cares and work of life. At these seasons, it was common to use the phrase—"this is an astonishing outpouring of the Spirit of God." It is singular, if it is intended to imply, that God ever forgets to be gracious, or that His ear is not always open, or that His Spirit of goodness is not always shed down upon us, like the light and heat of the glorious sun.

Those who have been led to think that these religious excitements were the work of God, rather than of men, will do well to remember, that they never came in times of war, or when the minds of people were already occupied; and that usually they followed a dull condition of the public mind, and always were brought to pass at a season of the year when the work of the farmer does not press. No Revivalist preacher would now attempt an excitement in the month of May.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MINISTERS.

THE MOTHER'S WISH—INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT STILES—GOOD DIGESTION—CHAPLAINS—ANECDOTES—DANGER OF CLASS—MINISTERS LOSE POWER—THEIR VIRTUES—INOCULATION AND THE FRANKLIN'S—THE SPINNING BEE—PRIVILEGES—THE PREACHING—THE ELECTION SERMON—CONCEITS—PHYSICAL PUNISHMENTS—HOUR-GLASS—MATHER'S SERMON—MAYHEW'S SERMON—COOPER'S SERMON—UNIVERSALISM—PRAYERS—SINGULAR ONES—CHURCH QUARRELS—THE BLACK BULL—HOOKER—WILSON—COTTON—JOHN CLARKE—THE CHAUNCEYS—SHEPARD—RICHARD MATHER—HOPKINS—CATECHISMS.

A LEARNED and Godly Ministry, was one of the first wants of New England, and in the very beginning, Harvard and Yale Colleges were founded, and endowed, and sustained, that this might be secured. It was the highest glory and ambition of every mother's heart in New England, that one of her sons should stand before the Lord, and minister at his Altars. For this she spun and wove, for this she longed and labored. Small earnings were laid by, to provide those wonderful Latin and Greek books, which, like the talismanic words, the "Open Sesame" of oriental story, were thought to unfold the pages of divine wisdom. When the boy was fairly enlisted at his books, when in the vacations he visited his home, and his pale face contrasted with the bronzed skin of his brothers, the mother saw nothing but holiness written there; and when at last he received the stamp of ordination, and stood up to preach in the presence of the congregation, then her heart flowed over with thanksgiving, and her eyes filled with tears of joy.

Of course, the most nervous and sickly boy was apt to have a turn for books, and too many of these grew up into Ministers. Hope in such was apt to be weak, and their sensitive natures were alive to fear; the natural conse-

quence was, that they inclined, like Jonathan Edwards, to receive and preach the severer doctrines of Calvinism, and to dread the Terrors of the Lord, rather than to trust his Love. Some of these sensitive boys were too diffident to stand up before the people and preach, and such devoted themselves to teaching ; but they were always honored, and down to a very recent day, they received the title of "Scholar." The College days were the High-tides of New England ; to these came up all the Ministers, all the educated men, and all the respectability of the land. This is the account given in the New Haven Post-Boy, of the Inauguration of President Stiles.

"NEW HAVEN, July 15, 1778.

"On Wednesday the 8th instant, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, DD., was inducted and inaugurated into the Presidency of Yale College, in this town.

"The formalities of this installation were conducted in the following manner :

"At half-past ten in the forenoon the Students were assembled into the Chapel, where the procession was formed, consisting of the Undergraduates and Bachelors. At the tolling of the Bell they moved forward to the President's House to receive and escort the Rev'd Corporation and the President Elect ; by whom being joined, the Procession returned to the Chapel in the following order :

THE FOUR CLASSES OF UNDERGRADUATES,
 CONSISTING OF 116 STUDENTS PRESENT,
 BACHELORS OF ARTS,
 THE BEADLE AND BUTLER
 CARRYING
 THE COLLEGE CHARTER, RECORDS, KEY AND SEAL,
 THE SENIOR PRESIDING FELLOW,
 ONE OF THE HON. COUNCIL AND THE PRESIDENT ELECT,
 THE REVEREND CORPORATION,
 THE PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY,
 THE TUTORS,
 THE REVEREND MINISTERS,
 MASTERS OF ARTS,
 RESPECTABLE GENTLEMEN."

The Exercises were : 1. Prayer ; 2. The Oath to the President ; 3. A Latin Oration by the Presiding Fellow, and the delivery to the President of the Charter, Key, and Seal, etc. ; 4. The President, being seated in the Chair, "Sir Dana, one of the Senior Bachelors, addressed him in a beautiful Latin Oration ;" 5. "Then the President arose, and politely addressed the Audience, in an elegant, learned, and animated Oration in Latin, upon the Cyclopedia or general system of Universal Literature, which, for the beauty of classic diction, elevation of thought, and importance to the cause of learning in general, was worthy of its author ; 6. Then was sung an Anthem, the 122d Psalm ; 7. Then a blessing ; and 8. Then a dinner.¹

As it is not probable that one person present could understand a spoken Latin oration, and as there was none other, the dinner was without doubt a delightful as well as useful part of the Exercises.

But it must not be supposed that all the ministers of New England, being scholarly men, were men of weak digestion and gloomy spirits. The Reverend² Gurdon Saltonstall (made Governor of Connecticut in 1707), had one of the strongest bodies in the State, and was a man of practical life and sagacity ; and the Rev. Jeremiah Shepard, of Lynn, felt most keenly the outrageous tyrannies of Andros and Randolph (1689) ; and when the people of Boston rose against them, "April 19, about 11 o'clock, the County came in, headed by one Shepherd, teacher of Lynn, who were like so many wild bears ; and the leader, mad with passion, more savage than any of his followers. All the cry was for the Governor and Mr. Randolph." So Randolph writes.

In nearly all cases a minister led out the new towns into the wilderness, and exposed his life to the attacks of wild beasts and savages. When the Revolutionary con-

¹ Barber's Hist. Coll. New Haven, 1837.

² The title of Reverend came into use about 1670.

test came on, the Ministers never flinched. Many of them walked to Church, with the Bible in one hand, and the musket in the other ; and the Minister of Berkshire led his people to Stark before the Battle of Bennington, and demanded to be allowed to fight, or they would never turn out again. When Washington collected his army at New York, there were in one Connecticut regiment seven Ministers, Chaplains of Companies.¹ It is clear, therefore, that if they did not handle the spear, they encouraged those who did. Many were equally hardy at home. One of them, finding his best apples removed without his consent (stolen, in other words), gave notice in meeting, that the Yellow Sweet Apples in the north-east corner of his orchard would be ripe by the next Wednesday, and begged that those Members of his Church, who had been in the habit of gathering his apples, would delay picking those till that time. He was allowed to gather them himself.

Another Minister, being called to a new parish, preached the same good sermon for three Sundays in succession. Then his people sent a committee to suggest that they would like a new Sermon. He replied : " Why, I see no evidence yet, that that one has produced any effect. When the people begin to practice it, I shall gladly preach another."

Dr. Toppan, of Newbury, not being entirely satisfied of the evangelical piety of the father, announced at the baptism of a child, " I baptize this child wholly on the woman's account," and then baptized it.

I have said, elsewhere, and now say it briefly again, that the dangers of the New England Ministers grew out of their becoming a class, distinct both by dress and manners from the people ; that they became " ecclesiastics," rather than ministers to the people ; and their vice was an overweening conceit and regard for their order. They sometimes forgot the teachings of justice and

¹ Bushnell's Speech for Connecticut. Hartford, 1837.

mercy, in a desire to promote their own glory and exalt their profession. A free people should guard against Class influence, even if it be that of the very best men in the community. These ecclesiastical dangers are now happily past, and Ministers in New England are valued as other men are, for their virtues and wisdom, not for their cloth or cravats. Up to the time of the administration of Governor Dudley of Massachusetts (1703), the Ministers held a leading place in the Colony, in matters of State as well as Church ; and, acting as a class, their influence was not always in favor of justice and liberty. But Dudley quarreled with the Mathers, or they with him, and from that day the Ministers lost their prestige and power as politicians, and never recovered it.

Whatever errors and faults we may charge upon the Ministers, we should always remember that they were the steady advocates of Education and good manners, that they were the literary men of their day for two centuries, and that their whole influence tended to check and refine the coming era of material development ; that they did labor faithfully (even if in excess) to exalt the dignity of the spirit over matter, and to lead men's thoughts and interests above the lust for mere wealth and honors.

As a body, they were advocates of all improvement which did not directly infringe their dignity ; and about the year 1721, headed by the Mathers, they advocated and introduced Inoculation, as a remedy for the fearful scourge of small-pox, against the press and the masses of the people ; and they succeeded, after a most violent and bitter opposition. In this contest, both Cotton and Increase Mather stood in the front rank. So little that is good has been said of Cotton Mather, that it is pleasant to be able to say this of him.

Among those who opposed Inoculation, were the two Franklins, James and Benjamin (then a lad). A clergyman met the younger Franklin (Benjamin), who then worked in his brother's office, and said to him : " Young

man, you entertain and no doubt you think you edify the Publick with a Weekly Paper called the *Courant*. The plain Design of your Paper is to Banter and Abuse the Ministers of God, and if you can, to defeat all the good Effects of their Ministry on the Minds of the People. You may do well to Remember, that it is a Passage in the Blessing on the Tribe of Levi, *Smite thro' the Loins of them that rise against him, and of them that hate him*. I would have you to know, that the Faithful Ministers of Christ in this place, are as honest and useful Men as the Ancient *Levites* were, and are as dear to their Glorious Lord as the Ancient *Levites* were : and if you resolve to go on in serving their Great Adversary as you do, you must expect the Consequences.”¹

There is not a doubt that, in most cases, the minister was the true friend of his people, was able to render them the most valuable services out of the pulpit, as well as in it, and that he was sincerely loved and honored ; and it was common for ministers to live and die among the people where they first settled.

This love and kindness found a return in an annual festival, called a “Spinning Bee.”

At that time, linen cloth being used, was spun and woven by every good housewife ; for THE “SPINNING BEE.” cheap cotton cloth was not then made. On a given day, the women of the parish, bearing their wheels and flax, assembled at the house of the minister, and the hum of the wheels was like the murmur of bees ; and their labors filled the chests of the minister’s wife. The Records say :

“1768, April 20.—Young ladies met at the house of Rev. Mr. Parsons, who preached to them a sermon from Proverbs, xxxi., 19. They spun, and presented to Mrs. Parsons, two hundred and seventy skeins of good yarn. They drank Liberty Tea. This was made from an herb called rib-wort.”²

¹ New England Courant, Dec. 4, 1721.

² Coffin’s Newbury.

"NEW HAVEN, April 12, 1775.

"We are informed, from the Parish of East Haven, that last week, the women of that Parish, in imitation of the generous and laudable example of the Societies in the town of New Haven, presented the Rev. Mr. Street, of said Parish, with upwards of one hundred and thirty run of well-spun linen yarn; which was gratefully received by the family. And the generous guests, after some refreshments, and taking a few dishes of coffee, agreeable to the plan of the Continental Congress, to which that Society unanimously and fixedly adheres, dispersed with a cheerfulness that bespoke that they could be well pleased without a sip from that baneful and exotic herb (tea), which ought not so much as to be once more named among the friends of American Liberty."¹

It was also the custom for the farmers of the Parish, when the wintry winds began to whistle in the cracks of doors and windows, each one of them on a day, to drive up his cart, loaded with good wood, and drop it at the minister's door. Sixty loads for a year was only a fair allowance; and he was not a popular clergyman who failed thus to receive his supply.

The ministers were always put in the best place at feasts, and their property and persons, down to a late period, were exempt from taxes.

THE
PREACHING. To us most of the sermons of the first century of New England would appear monotonous and interminable; yet there is no question that the habit of preaching upon worldly matters, at times relieved the tediousness of their disquisitions.

Winthrop says that Mr. Cotton preached, and with more than his usual ability, "expounding that in 2d Chron., of the defection of the ten tribes from Rehoboam, and his preparation to recover them by war, and the Prophet's prohibition, etc., proved from that in Numbers, 27, 21, that the rulers of the people should consult with

¹ Connecticut Journal.

the ministers of the Churches, upon occasion of any war to be undertaken, and any other weighty business, though the case should seem never so clear, as David in the case of Ziklag, and the Israelites in the case of Gibeah.”¹

Although they preached the longest “Gospel” sermons, there seems to have been no objection made to discourses treating of matters vital to this world. Williams and Cotton preached about vails; Eliot about wigs, long hair,² and tobacco; Wilson and Eliot about treaties and politics; Cotton about the Governor’s salary; and Hugh Peters in favor of making a stock company for the security and profit of fishing.

And they were not then dismissed from their parishes because it was not Gospel.

AN ELECTION SERMON was always listened to, and was often a plain-spoken, earnest discourse, as the New England thanksgiving sermons now are; probably the best of the year.

Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, preached the Election Sermon at Boston (1643), and spoke very strongly against electing the same man for Governor “twice together.” Nevertheless, Winthrop was re-elected.

In 1647, Mr. Rogers preached before the Synod, Magistrates, and Deputies. He spoke of the petitioners whose case was then before the Court—against the practice of speeches by private members in Church meetings—in favor of the old custom of children’s asking their parents’ blessing on their knees—against some oppressions in the country—and especially against long hair. “Divers were offended at his zeal.”

Curious conceits were popular, both with preacher and people. A fight between a snake and a mouse having been seen at Watertown, in which the mouse killed the snake, Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, “a very sincere,

¹ Vol. i., p. 237.

² Long hair, “after the manner of ruffians and barbarous Indians,” said Endicott’s Proclamation, 1649.

holy man," seized the event for edification. He showed, as Winthrop states, that the snake was the devil, and that the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither to overcome Satan, and dispossess him of his kingdom.

Cotton at one time being requested to speak to the question of "Church," showed how some "Churches were as Queens, some as Concubines, some as Damsels, and some as Doves," etc., and proved it for edification from the Song of Solomon.

They loved to attribute natural phenomena to spiritual causes, and were apt to rest on that ignorance of natural events which had misled the nations of antiquity.

"Pride," says Dr. Chauncey, "is another of the sins God testifies his anger against by Earthquakes. Sabbath-breaking is a sin which God also testifies against by shaking the Earth."

One of the causes of evil which threatened the Colony was stated to be the insufficient support of Ministers; and especially in supporting but one Minister to a parish; and "That the Lord Christ would not have instituted Pastors, Teachers, and Ruling Elders (Acts xiv. 23; Titus i. 5) if he had not seen that there was need of them, for the good of his people." The Synod states further: "It is a high injustice and oppression, yea a sin that cries in the Lord's ears for judgment, when wages is withheld from faithful and diligent labourers. James v. 4."¹

The Rev. Andrew Eliot, in his Fast-day Sermon at Boston, 1753, enumerates as glaring sins—impiety, neglecting family prayer, intemperance, uncleanness, pride and luxury, injustice and oppression, slander and calumny, etc., etc., and in such strong terms as to warrant the conclusion that New-England has *not* degenerated.

An hour-glass stood by the pulpit and was sometimes turned. The duration of an ordinary sermon often reached

¹ Of Reformation, etc., agreed upon by the Synod at Boston, in New England, Sept. 10, 1679.

two hours, as some now living can well remember. The divisions of the subject were many, and the weary ear often heard them counting up to seventeenthly and eighteenthly, toward infinity. The following sketch of Increase Mather's Fast-day Sermon (Boston, 1682), upon "Persecution," will well enough illustrate the manner of preaching of those days; and excite in us a due sense of thankfulness that a briefer if not a better fashion now prevails.

The Text was Acts viii. 1.

"At that time there was a great Persecution against the Church, which was at Jerusalem, etc."

He opens with the statement of Three remarkable Events, etc.

"1. Saul's consenting thereto," etc., briefly.

"2. A great Persecution of Christians," briefly.

"3. The dispersion of the Persecuted Christians," etc.

Then the Persecution which happened at the time of Stephen's death is described :

"1. From the subject of it," briefly.

"2. From the greatness of it," freely.

The Doctrine then stated, is

"That the Church of God is sometimes subject of GREAT PERSECUTIONS," which is cleared by three propositions :

"1. When men may be said to be persecuted.

"2. What kind of Persecution the Church of God, in this world, may be subject to.

"3. The Reasons whence it comes to pass that the Lord's people in this world are sometimes persecuted." Which are treated,

"1. They must be exposed unto sufferings," briefly.

"2. They must suffer in a good cause," copiously.

Then again the kinds of Persecution are treated, Firstly, Secondly, and Thirdly.

The Reasons are given :

"*Reas.* 1. Sin is the cause of it," the kinds of sin are :

“1. Apostacy.

“2. Sinful Division.

“3. Formality in Religion,” etc., etc.

“*Reas.* 2. The Power and Malice of Satan,” under two heads.

“*Reas.* 3. That the Lord hath an holy hand, and glorious Ends in all the Persecutions which befall his people ;” treated under four subdivisions amply.

“The Application of the truth remains, wherefore

“*Use* 1. Let us be exhorted to prepare for times of Persecution.”

To awaken hereunto,

“*Consider* 1. What ground we have,” etc.

“2. What solemn warnings,” etc.

“3. What sins there are,” etc., quite at length.

Then the question comes :

“But what shall we do ?” etc.

“1. Labour for Sincerity.

“2. Labour for Assurance,” fully.

Then comes “*Use* 2. Let us endeavor to prevent this Evil,” etc., and how ?

“*Answer* 1. Let us be humbled.

“2. Let us pity and pray for the Lord’s suffering Servants ;” quite fully, closing

“If we sympathize with the Lord’s people in their present sufferings and sorrows, in the Day when Jerusalem shall rejoice, we shall be glad and Rejoice in Her. Even in that Day, which is not far off ; when the Lord will be Jealous for Jerusalem, and for Zion with a great Jealousy.”

These long, and elaborate, and often subtle disquisitions, answered one great end ; they led to unlimited discussion, and the MIND of New England was kept active and awake. All over the Colonies, men were dealing with the great problems of Life and Death—with duty to man and duty to God ; and this habit of mind, has inspired and molded the civilization of New England, and helped to make it what it is.

The laborious acquisition of some Ministers is almost incredible. The "Magnalia" is a proof that the mind of Cotton Mather was destroyed by pedantry ; that he had lost his Mind, in cultivating his Memory. There were other similar examples in New England, and there were Ministers who were believed to know the whole Bible, "by heart," word for word, from its beginning to its end. Many sermons show this, by numerous and excessive quotations, and in the use of high-sounding Latin words.

The people looked to the Ministers for counsel and light upon all matters, and properly ; and the claim now made by some, that no subject not treated in the Bible shall be treated in the pulpit, can not be admitted ; the minister does not cease to be a man, and he is Free : only he cannot speak *ex cathedra*, and his words can pretend to no more authority than those of any other man.

Among the most famous ministers of the times immediately preceding the Revolution, were Jonathan Mayhew and Samuel Cooper, both of Boston ; both Republicans at heart, and both courageous men. Mr. Mayhew preached a sermon as early as 1750, which was published, and attracted much attention, for its boldness and power. Let us briefly refer to it : ¹

The text was Romans xiii. 1-8.

1. Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God.

2. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God ; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation," etc.

This most slavish doctrine is thus paraphrased by Dr. Mayhew :

"And if these methods (prayers and tears) fail of procuring redress, we must not have recourse to any other, but all suffer ourselves to be robbed and butchered at the pleasure of the *Lord's anointed*."

¹ "A Discourse concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers, &c.," by Jonathan Mayhew, A. M., Pastor of the West Church, in Boston: 1750.

These are some of the positions laid down by the Reverend Divine—positions which few now will deny the truth of.

“Common sense shows that these texts can not be taken literally.

“Rulers have no authority from God to do mischief.

“Rulers who do mischief are not of God.

“For a nation, thus abused, to arise and resist their prince, even to the dethroning of him is not criminal.

“It would be stupid tameness and unaccountable folly, for whole nations to suffer one unreasonable, ambitious, and cruel man to wanton and riot in their misery. And in such a case, it would, of the two, be more rational to suppose that they that did NOT resist, than that they who did, would receive to themselves *Damnation*.”

In 1756, the Rev. Samuel Cooper, of Boston, in his Election Sermon, preached from the example of Moses, who, “Led by a divine impulse to give a specimen of that deliverance which God designed to send by his hands to the Israelites, rescued him that suffered wrong, and *slew* the Egyptian !”

This act, and the subsequent conduct of Moses, against “the powers that be”—of Pharaoh, were strongly approved ; and the House of Representatives, through T. Hubbard, Speaker, gave him their thanks.¹

The New England view of the character and attributes of God, was strongly tintured by that entertained among the strong half-civilized Hebrews. The rugged, earnest, and stern Puritan ministers, loved to launch out in thunders and denunciations against the wicked and impenitent ; they pictured God as abounding in wrath, and ready to consume evil-doers as he did Korah and all his company ; they told how he was an angry and jealous God, in whom was no variableness nor shadow of turning, and they held on to their converts more through fear of damnation than through love of God. Their stern

¹ Election Sermon, by Samuel Cooper, May 26, 1756 : Boston, 1756.

sense of Justice revolted at the idea of pardoning a sinner, and repentance itself could hardly reconcile it. A sharp line was drawn between the Saints and the Sinners, and outside of church-membership no saints could be found. When, about the year 1752, "The Universal Scheme of Salvation" began to be preached, it met with the strongest opposition ; but it was simply a natural and extreme reaction, from the doctrines of Fear to those of Love.

The story is, that a pious woman, strongly exercised upon the matter, went to her minister with the question,

"How long is Eternal damnation?"

"Oh, I can not tell, exactly. It is infinite."

"But how long should you say it was?—how many years?"

"It is impossible to say exactly."

"Is it a hundred thousand years?"

"Yes, probably."

"Well then, that is *some* comfort."

Except in a modified form, this Doctrine of Universal Salvation embodied in a Sect, has made little progress in New England ; it does not suit the genius of the people.

The prayers of Ministers were as long as their sermons, and "to be gifted in prayer" was high praise. It was common to open their minds to the Lord for an hour, while the people stood and listened. This opening of their minds to the Lord was in truth an opening also to themselves, and tended to clear up doubts and difficulties. Of course prayers of such length must have ranged wide, and at times have degenerated into singular details. It is told that when Minister Miles prayed for rain, he left nothing uncertain. He said—"O Lord, thou knowest we do not want thee to send us a rain which shall pour down in fury, and swell our streams, and sweep away our hay-cocks, and fences, and bridges ; but, Lord, we want it to come drizzle-drozzle—drizzle-drozzle for about a week—Amen."

THE MINISTER'S
PRAYERS.

It required practice to make a smooth and moving

prayer, and a slow-tongued man sometimes hesitated, and lost his flow ; one such thanked the Lord for all kinds of mercies and benefits ; and, being a little confused, said, “ We thank thee—we thank thee—also—for the many barrels of cider thou hast vouchsafed us.” It may seem to us inappropriate thus to go into details, but then it was quite otherwise. But there was a difference of opinion about Prayer even in that early day.

The Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, who died in 1679, said in one of his sermons (published 1666), “ What is it to draw nigh God in prayer ? It is not to come with loud expressions when we pray before Him. Loud crying in the ear of God is not to draw near to God. They are nearer to God that silently whisper in His ear, and tell Him what they want, and what they would have of Him.”

One Mr. Brewster thought the Minister would do better to make two *short* prayers ; and he gives as a good reason, that it being the custom to stand up in prayer, “ Y^e harte and spirits of all, espetially y^e weak, could hardly continue and stande, bente (as it were), so long toward God, as they ought to doe in y^t duty, without flagging or falling off.” Perhaps he was without honor in his own day, but deserves to be remembered now.

Almost every local history of New England is filled with details of Church quarrels, divisions among the people, or between the Minister and Congregation. It would be idle to go into any details of them, for they have passed away, and may well be buried with the past. When all else failed, some neighboring Minister was called in to lay the storm. The Reverend Mr. Bulkley, of Colchester, was looked upon as a sound, just man, and his words were heeded in such cases. Being asked to advise, in a church quarrel, he wrote them a letter, and at the same time he wrote a letter to his farmer. The messenger returned to the Church, which was convened to hear the lettter ; it was opened and read attentively—

CHURCH
QUARRELS.

“ You will see to the repair of the fences, that they be built high and strong ; and you will take especial care of the old Black Bull.”

This was the farmer's letter ; but the Church considered carefully these words of wisdom, and concluded that they must fence out the wicked, and that the old black bull was Satan himself ; this application proved satisfactory, and the Church was thenceforth harmonious. A superficial observer might argue that there could be but little religion where there was so much strife ; but that does not follow ; for Quiet is apt to signify stagnation and death. In New England all was life, and there must be and ought to be discussion and difference of opinion, which at times lead to heat and unkindness ; but the great end is good, for through life and action we reach the Truth. The Church-quarrels of New England were, therefore, infinitely to be preferred to the stagnation and death of a Church despotism, such as exists in most parts of Europe now.

Some of the leading Ministers have already been mentioned in the progress of this History ; but some others deserve brief notice.

None of the early New England Clergy had so wide a reputation, as a pulpit orator, as Thomas Hooker, the famous Minister of Hartford. He was as much drilled in the schools as any, but possessing a remarkable force of character, his sermons breathed a bold and earnest spirit, and the fire of his own nature warmed the cold hearts of his hearers. He possessed other attributes of the orator, which increased his popularity, viz., a fine presence, and a strong, powerful voice. He preached mostly without writing his sermons, which in a man with a disciplined mind, is sure to add to the interest of his discourses ; and indeed it is only in this way that the best preaching can be had. That there was much in the manner, as well as in his matter, there is little doubt ; for the printed ser-

THOMAS
HOOKER, OF
HARTFORD.

mons of his remaining to us have no remarkable value now. He, too, was obliged to flee from England (1630) to Holland, where he preached, till in 1633 he came to New England, and settled with his congregation at Newtown, or Cambridge ; but they soon decided that they wanted more room and better lands. So Hooker led out his flock through the wilderness till they reached the beautiful banks of the Connecticut, where they set themselves down, and builded a City.

It is good to see with what thoroughness these old Divines now and then stood by one another. Dr. Thomas Goodwin said of Hooker's work on "Church Discipline" (pub. 1648), "As touching this treatise, and the worthy author of it, to preface any thing by commendation of either, were to lay paint upon burnished marble, or add light unto the sun." Hooker stood by the full power of each congregation to exercise all Church discipline, but held to Consociations, which could excommunicate any Church.

JOHN WILSON was the colleague of Cotton in the Boston Church. He was one of the boldest and most out-spoken among the New England ministers, and early took a decided part against Mrs. Hutchinson and the Antinomians. He was not a man of half measures. When the Synod was held to condemn heresies, he pressed matters forward to a decision, and eighty-two opinions were pronounced damnable. Some one asked Wilson—

"What shall be done with them?"

"Let them go to the Devil of Hell, from whence they came !" was his blunt answer.

He was equally active, decided, and determined against the re-election of Sir Harry Vane, as Governor, and harangued the excited people from a tree on the day of election.

He had no doubt as to the propriety of punishing heresy with the sword ; but was, nevertheless, a kind and generous man.

For thirty-seven years, Wilson was pastor or teacher in

Boston, where it can be hardly possible that he was not greatly respected. Some person one day said at a muster,

“Here comes Mr. Wilson ; and among all these people here, there is not seven but that loves him.”

To which he quickly answered—

“I’ll tell you as good a thing as that : among all this mighty body of people, there’s not so much as *one* of them but Mr. Wilson loves him.”

His discourses were plain and simple, and partook of the character of homilies and good advice. Few of them remain to this time.

JOHN NORTON was a man of a melancholic temperament, which both saddened and intensified his religious views. His writings partake of the bitterness of polemical controversy, too common at that day, and have passed into forgetfulness.

He left England when quite young, and for a short time was minister at Plymouth ; but the independence of the Plymouth Church was not agreeable to a man of a dogmatic temperament, and the stronger colony was more inviting ; so Norton removed, upon invitation, to Ipswich, where he continued till, at Cotton’s death, he was called to Boston [1652]. Mather would have us think that Cotton dreamed that he saw Norton riding into Boston, on a white horse, to take his place, and that it afterward came to pass, and very greatly impressed the whole people. In 1661–2, he was sent, in company with Mr. Simon Bradstreet, to England, to make interest at court to guard their rights, and continue the charters ; but meeting with ill success, they were harshly censured on their return ; which greatly grieved Mr. Norton, who soon after died [1663]. A single verse from Mr. Thomas Shepard’s elegy, will be sufficient :

The Schoolmen’s *Doctors*, whomsoe’er they be,
Subtil, Seraphick, or Angelical :
Dull souls ! their tapers burnt exceeding dim,
They might to *school* again, to learn of him.

Mr. Norton was eminently a Theologian, and delighted in the discussion of dark questions, mainly valuable as exercises for the mind. He wrote carefully and strongly, and had a hand in the preparation of the Cambridge Platform, and in his day was a man of much weight.

JOHN CLARKE, of Rhode Island, was one of the first Baptist ministers in America, and one of the best men in New England, and was looked upon as a great accession to the growing Colonies of Massachusetts Bay. But he was one of those men, like Roger Williams, who saw clearly, spoke frankly, and acted consistently ; and finding the theories of the Ministers and Magistrates did not permit liberty of speech and worship in Massachusetts, he joined with Aspinwall, Coddington, and others—friends of Mrs. Hutchinson, in the purchase of Rhode Island, to which they removed in 1638.¹ In the new settlement, his talents and virtues (for his life was spotless) gave him a leading place, and he soon found his vocation, as a preacher in the new church at Newport (1644). He held to the leading Calvinistic doctrines, but he held also that Baptism or Dipping should be administered only to the repentant, and also that liberty of prophesying or preaching should be extended to all. Being on a visit to some friends in Lynn (1651), who held like views, he preached in one of their houses ; but he and his friends were seized by the officers, imprisoned, and fined. After a time, he paid his fine, but his friend Obadiah Holmes, who would not allow himself to be ransomed, was publicly whipped in Boston. These men were the pioneers of the “Baptists” in America, and are an honor to their sect.²

Clarke was sent to England, in 1651, with Roger Williams, to promote the interests of the Colony, where he continued for some years, and was instrumental in gaining from Charles II. the freest Charter ever granted, which secured liberty of speech and worship. He returned to

¹ See ch. xxv., vol i.

² See vol. i., ch. xlv.

his Church, and died among his friends, leaving not only the memory of his virtues to the good, but the income of his estate to benefit the poor. He left them a good name and a good farm.

Both of the CHAUNCEYS were learned and famous men. The first Charles Chauncey, came to New England in 1638. In Old England, he had been among the most learned men in the Cambridge University; but in that day, a difference about a surplice or an altar-rail furnished sufficient reason for a visit from the agents of Laud, and insured persecution. Chauncey did not escape, and in his first trial he gave in and recanted; which he afterward bewailed with tears. When he came to New England he was made minister of Scituate; and in 1654, was called to be president of Harvard College. This post he filled worthily till the year 1671. He rose at four o'clock in the morning, and worked hard all his days. He was a diligent student of the Bible, and engaged in private prayer four times a day. He united with Davenport and Increase Mather to oppose strongly the Halfway Covenant, but without success.

His great-grandson, Charles Chauncey, was in his day one of the first ministers of Boston. His voice was weak, and his fame rests rather upon his writings than his preaching. He wrote long and elaborately against Whitefield's doings, and the enthusiasm of the revivalists (1742). He also enlisted in the contest against Robert Sandeman (1765); and from 1762 to 1771, he put forth his whole strength and withstood the plans of the Episcopalians to establish a hierarchy in the Colonies. In their controversies he obtained great celebrity, which has continued to the present time, although the books he made are rarely seen. He was an ardent Republican, and joined with Cooper and Mayhew, to lead the minds of the people up to resistance to the tyranny of the English Court.

Besides these, among the leading minds, were Thomas

Shepard of Cambridge, one of the most highly educated of those ministers who came from England, and one of the most active in good works.

Richard Mather was among the marked men of the early Church, and having decided literary gifts, was engaged in the early translation of the Psalms with Eliot and Weld, and also in the composition of the Cambridge Platform of 1648.

John Allen of Dedham, Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley, and Ralph Partridge of Duxbury, were all men of mark in their day ; so were Pruden and Whitfield of New Haven colony ; and in the eighteenth century, such men as Dwight, Bellamy and Smalley, and Clap and Stiles, made the church famous.

No man, except Jonathan Edwards, had in his day so marked an influence upon the New England theology as Samuel Hopkins, minister of Newport, Rhode Island. One of his commentators says, " He pushed his doctrine of Divine decrees to the verge of Pantheism, but held that man was responsible for his sinful *acts*, not for his sinful *nature*."

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D.D., was one of the prominent New England divines, between 1740 and the Revolution. He was in Yale College in 1741, was diligent in prayer, and believed his salvation safe. But when the intense Whitefieldian excitement prevailed in New England, he concluded that he was only a worldly creature ; then he set himself to prayer and fasting, and self-abasement again, and for some months lived a recluse in his father's house, when it seemed " the way of salvation was made clear to him." Jonathan Edwards was his friend, and to him he went at Northampton, and studied divinity, and prepared to preach. For twenty-five years he was minister at Great Barrington, living in the most frugal way, and growing strong in the high intellectual doctrines of Calvin. But in 1769, his congregation there could no longer support him, and he went to Newport, Rhode Island, where he

staid till the Revolution drove him and his people away ; and there he returned after the war, and died in 1803.

He was not a popular preacher, and he is known rather as the author of an extreme Calvinistic theory, once strongly held to, called after him "Hopkinsianism." He said of his followers, "They are the most sound, consistent, thorough Calvinists ; and are most popular where there appears to be the most attention to religion." Few would be interested or profited by an elaborate discussion of his theories ; he seems to have held to the entire depravity of the human heart, and that every act of the unregenerate was sinful, and that they could do nothing pleasing to God ; proceeding from that, he held the necessity of immediate repentance. He held that, as God foreordained every thing, of course he decreed the existence of sin ; but that the design was benevolent. He appeared to think that a true Christian should be willing to perish everlastingly, and to be forever miserable, "for the glory of God," etc. Dr. Hopkins was himself a good, benevolent, and kind-hearted man, who sailed away at times upon a dark sea of metaphysics.

With his friends, Edwards, Bellamy, and Emmons, he held that Sin was selfishness, and Holiness self-denying benevolence ; and in a day when Slavery was everywhere acquiesced in, these men lifted up their voices against it. Hopkins prepared a sermon, and was the first to preach against slavery in New England. It was in the midst of a community, too, actually engaged in slave-keeping and slave-trading. Much to his surprise, his sermon was well received ; and in time his church came to him, and passed a resolution, not to tolerate slavery in that church.¹

"Hopkinsianism" kept the intellect of New England wide awake for many years ; and it was only necessary to introduce the subject to call out all the subtlety of mind, and earnestness of theology. The result was, of course, interminable discussions, unmanageable propositions, and

¹ Whittier's Old Portraits, etc.

confusion, and men became so entangled that they hardly knew what they or any one else believed.

The New England religionists believed in filling the mind with right principles and religious theories, and thus leaving nothing to chance, or to the spontaneous action of the individual. They were therefore diligent in catechising, and, at an early age, plied the children with profound theological propositions. How far the mind must be left to its own action to discover truth, and how much it must be prepared by its teachers, is one of the most difficult questions for each one to decide. That this religious drill, wearisome to the children, sometimes reacted against religion, few now can doubt. We find in the annals of Ipswich, that Thomas Scott was fined "ten shillings, unless he learn Mr. Norton's Catechize by next Court." He could not, or would not learn it, and paid the money.

Every ambitious Minister having a literary talent, made a Catechism, and there are some three hundred of these now extant, not much used at this day.

The great Catechism of New England, however, was "The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines," which is contained in the famous New England Primer, and which, as a matter of History, deserves attention.¹

¹ See Appendix.

CHAPTER X.

SLAVERY IN NEW ENGLAND.

A NEGRO QUEEN—RETROSPECT—IN JUDEA—NO DEMOCRACY YET—IN GREECE AND ROME—IN ENGLAND—MIGHT NOT RIGHT—IN SPAIN—1440—NEGROES DISCOVERED—INDIANS DESTROYED—NEGROES INTRODUCED—CHARLES V. AND LAS CASAS—HAWKINS'S FIRST CARGO—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S VENTURE—1620—THE AFRICAN COMPANY IN ENGLAND—"GUINEAS"—ASSIENTO TREATY—SLAVE SHIPS—"THE MIDDLE PASSAGE"—SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS—NEW ENGLAND CONSTITUTIONS—INDIAN SLAVES—"THE SPIRITS"—OGLETHORPE—1680—SLAVE-TRADE AND RUM—WILLS AND DEEDS—PUBLIC SALES—B. M. AND B. W.—NEGRO ELECTION—PHILLIS WHEATLEY—SLAVE BURNED TO DEATH—SLAVE LAWS—WOOLMAN AND BENEZET—LEE IN VIRGINIA—THE LECHMERE SLAVE CASE, BEFORE THE SOMERSET CASE—OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA—IN CONGRESS—PATRICK HENRY—JEFFERSON'S DRAFT—DWIGHT'S DISCOURSE—HOPKINS AND BELLAMY—DEACON COLEMAN—JONATHAN EDWARDS—NEGRO SOLDIERS—CAROLINA SLAVES—UNPROFITABLE?—ABOLISHED IN NEW ENGLAND—VIRGINIA LEGISLATION—SLAVE-TRADE ABOLISHED—RENEWED IN AMERICA.

As early as 1638, there seem to have been some negro slaves in New England. Josselyn¹ gives the following account :

"The Thirtieth day of September, I went ashore upon Noddle's Island, where, when I was come to Mr. Maverick's, he would not let me go aboard no more. * * * The second of October," he continues, "about 9 of the clock in the morning, Mr. Maverick's Negro woman came to my chamber window, and in her own Countrey language and tune, sang very loud and shrill. Going out to her, she used a great deal of respect towards me, and willingly would have expressed her grief in English, but I apprehended it by her countenance and deportment ; whereupon I repaired to my host, to learn of him the cause, and resolved to interest him in her behalf, for that I understood before, that she had been a Queen in her own Countrey, and observed a very humble and dutiful garb used

¹ Voyages. Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, vol. iii.

towards her by another Negro who was her maid. Mr. Maverick was desirous to have a breed of Negroes, and therefore seeing she would not yield by perswasions, to company with a Negro young man he had in his house, he commanded him, will'd she, will'd she not, to go to bed to her, which was no sooner done, but she kickt him out again ; this she took in high disdain beyond her Slavery, and this was the cause of her grief."

Before devoting a few pages to a short account of slavery in New England, it may be well to take a rapid retrospective view of slavery as it has existed.

It is present everywhere in History, in some form ; for the selfishness of man tends to make him unjust when he can get the power, and to love to eat the produce of his fellow-men's labor ; color has made no difference, and white slaves have been just as desirable as black ones. The earliest written History of Egypt shows, that as the waters of the Nile fertilized the land, the labors of the Hebrew bondmen made it the granary of the world. Though the Hebrews had privileges, and though their slavery was not hopeless, as at present it is in Christian nations, still their labor was forced, and the hard iron of bondage eat into their vitals. The great soul of Moses revolted at this ; he slew the oppressor, and led out his rebellious people into the wilderness, to establish themselves as a wonderful Nation. But there, too, in Palestine, slavery at once sprung up. The children of Ammon and of Philistia were heathens, and their enemies ; of them they bought bondmen and bondwomen, and captives taken in war were bought and sold ; they bought Hebrews also, but it was only for seven years ;¹ and all slaves appear to have been freed at the Jubilee, which came at the end of each fifty years.

The customs of this rude and brutal people (for such they were), are yet quoted in palliation of a system of African slavery among us, and are its strong defenses when

¹ Leviticus, ch. xv.

all else fails. The best scholars now deny that Biblical servitude is like Negro Slavery, or excuses it ; yet it is certain, that in the early days of New England, the Bible was supposed to sanction Slavery, as some Divines (?) still assert that it does.

The question is fast coming to judgment on its own merits, and not upon the customs or opinions of the past ; Slavery is its own argument, and nothing that sanctions it, will be accepted by a people who love honor, truth, and humanity. The heart of man will yet beat time to the march of Justice.

There has as yet been no Democratic Society ; for the Republics of the past, all rested upon Slavery, and were suffocated in its corruption ; in Athens, one hundred and twenty thousand freemen owned four hundred thousand slaves ; in Sparta, one hundred and fifty thousand free citizens were masters of half a million slaves ; while in Rome, the slaves were to the freemen, as two to one.¹ Slavery overshadowed England, and to the end of the Saxon Heptarchy (A.D. 827), English children, sold by their parents, were offered for sale in the markets of Rome. It was not till the year 1102, that man-selling was forbidden in England ; thenceforward, the masses of the people, under the Feudal System, were held as "Villains," and wore on their necks a soldered collar, bearing their names inscribed—"born thrall of"—their masters.

Under no nation had the slaves rights as men. Yet the Roman Law only claimed that they were creatures of Law, not slaves by nature ; they were manly enough to say, that Slavery existed by MIGHT, not Right.

The progress toward freedom was painful and slow ; at first, slaves of one's own nation and blood were entitled to privileges. In the passage of centuries, the absurdity of Christians enslaving Christians became apparent, and the grand Wickliffe shot his shafts against it in the fourteenth

¹ "The State of Slavery among the Romans," by William Blair. Edinburgh, 1833.

century, and it ceased in England three centuries ago. The struggle between the Moors and Spaniards prolonged it. Spaniards enslaved Moors and Jews, and Moors enslaved Christians ; they were all one in the slave market. Negro princes and scholars sold as readily in Spain, as Cervantes and Vincent de Paul (and Arago) did in Barbary.

But in the fifteenth century (1440), the Portuguese discovered a new kind of Heathen, black and tough, who would do well for slaves ; these were the negroes of Africa.

Four influences gave a powerful impulse to negro slavery :

First.—Men wanted to live upon other men's labor, rather than their own.

Second.—These negroes were heathens and deserved no consideration ; or

Third.—If any weak-hearted people objected (as Louis XIII. did), they were silenced with the cry, that Slavery would serve to Christianize the blacks ; and

Fourth.—Laborers were wanted in the New World.

Columbus had discovered the West Indies (1492), and thenceforth Europeans were mad for gold. In Hispaniola (Hayti), two millions of wild Indians were worked to death, in half a century, and this race became extinct.¹ The Portuguese carried over some negroes (1503), and sold them at a good profit.² Ovando, Governor of Hispaniola, asked that the trade might be forbid, but was not heeded. The young King Charles V., in the year 1517, granted to a favorite the right to supply the Islands with four thousand negroes annually. Las Casas advocated it ; that the sufferings of the Indians might be mitigated. Charles lived long enough to endeavor to undo the mischief he had begun, and Las Casas to bewail his evil advice. It was too late.

John Hawkins, afterward a " Sir," seems to have first

¹ Copley's " History of Slavery." London, 1844.

² Robertson's America, p. 73. Holmes's Annals.

enlisted the English merchants in the Slave traffic. In 1562 he engaged in an adventure to the coast of Africa, attacked and destroyed villages, and as Hakluyt says,¹ "Stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sword, partly by other meanes, to the number of 300 Negroes, at the least, with other marchandises which that countrey yeeldeth."

With these he traded in Hispaniola, and thence, "With prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesaid adventures, he came home, and arrived in the month of September, 1563."

From that time none were more greedy for the gains of the Slave trade than the English merchants: and in Hawkins's next Expedition Queen Elizabeth was a partner.

Let us note here that Hispaniola (Hayti), where Negro Slavery was first introduced, was the first to extinguish it in blood and ruin. The day of retribution came.²

Coming down to the year 1620, what do we see?

First. A Dutch ship making its way into the waters of Virginia, with a living freight of twenty negroes, to be sold there as Slaves.³

Second. The white wings of an English fleet, led by Admiral Mansel, bearing down upon the coast of Barbary, to rescue from Slavery WHITE Englishmen, held captive there.⁴

Third. The Mayflower, borne across the stormy ocean, with its living freight of Puritan FREEMEN, devoted to the Service of God, Man, and Liberty.

Nature is indifferent, and the winds of heaven wafted all to their destination. At that day (1620), the race of Slavery and Freedom began on the fresh shores of America. One or the other must prevail; Freedom must bless the nation, or Slavery must curse it. Which shall it be? is asked by all men.

¹ Voyages.

² See Elliott's *Toussaint l'Ouverture*: N. Y., 1855.

³ Beverly's Virginia.

⁴ Sumner's *White Slavery*.

THE AFRICAN
COMPANY IN
ENGLAND.

As early as the year 1618, an effort was made to organize a Slave-trading Company in England, and a Charter for it was granted by James I. to Sir Robert Rich and other London merchants. But private adventurers, and the Dutch, took the business out of their hands.

England was at this time outraged and indignant at the enslavement of Englishmen by Barbary Corsairs, and Sermons were preached and money raised for their redemption all over England: and, later in time, the redeemed slaves were received in state at St. Paul's Cathedral. Yet in 1631, Charles I. again chartered a second African Company, to trade to the coasts of Guinea and find profit in Slaves; and again the Dutch secured the trade. But, in 1663, a Company was successfully established, of which the Duke of York was President. The profits were now great, and of the gold brought home new coins were struck, and called GUINEAS, to this day. They were the price of blood.

This Company was reorganized in 1672, and the fourth African Company was formed, to which the King, the Duke of York, and other dignitaries, subscribed.¹

But in the year 1689, England, by treaty with Spain, agreed to supply the Spanish West Indies with Slaves; and in 1713, in the treaty of Utrecht, a clause was introduced, called the "Assiento" treaty (*El pacto de el assiento de negros*), which secured England the monopoly of the Slave traffic (4,800 negroes yearly) for thirty years.² Factories started up along the African coasts, forts were built, and grants of money were obtained from Parliament.

Then sprang into activity a wonderful traffic, not yet ended. What availed it that Pope Alexander III. had said, Slavery was unnatural? And Leo X., "Not only the Christian religion, but Nature herself cries out against it?"—it availed naught. Negroes were ambushed and

¹ Anderson's Hist. of Colonial Church, vols. i., ii., iii. ² Walsh's Appeal.

seized ; villages were attacked, and all not murdered were driven in crowds to the shore ; tribe was set against tribe, to furnish supplies for the market. They were bought with beads, and jack-knives, and rum ; and before the end of the eighteenth century, more than Nine Millions of Negroes had been carried away to Slavery.¹

What was the custom ? It was found to be more profitable to sacrifice some than to save all. They were packed into Slave-ships, like herrings in a barrel ; they could lie between decks, but could neither sit, nor stand upright ; 16 inches in width was the space allotted to each one ; and when storms kept the hatches closed, suffocation did its work ; the dead carcass was found locked in the same fetter with the still gasping wretch. In 1771 the annual transportation was seventy thousand, one half of whom perished in the "Horrors of the Middle Passage," or in the first "Seasoning."

Strange things were common. A smart Slave-trader on the African coast sold some Negroes to a Captain. Shortly the trader was seized, and offered to the same Captain. "What," said he, "will you carry *me* to Slavery?" "Yes—any body who can be bought cheap." A Slave Captain flogged a child under a year old to death, because it refused to eat. A coal of fire was kept in one hand of a man who refused food, and a piece of yam in the other, till he should eat. Hundreds of Slaves watched their opportunity, and jumped into the sea. A ship, wrecked on the coast of Jamaica, was abandoned by the Crew ; the Negroes saved themselves on rafts with food and water ; but the crew attacked and killed nigh four hundred, and sold the remaining thirty-three at Kingston. In 1781, the Captain of the Ship *Zong*, finding his cargo were likely to die, and determined to put the loss on the Underwriters, threw a hundred and thirty

¹ Clarkson's Essay. London, 1786. The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondmen. London, 1852. Copley's History. Irving's Columbus.

two living beings into the ocean. He was thus able to swear that they were lost at sea.

It has been hoped that such things were past never to be repeated ; but it appears that the revival of the Slave trade is now advocated by a leading portion of the "Democratic" (!) party in the only Republican Nation of the world.¹ Slavery has destroyed every Republic of the past, and it now has its gripe upon the throat of America.

Lord Grenville said, "There is a greater portion of misery condensed within a smaller space than had ever existed in the known world." Mr. Fox said, "The acts of barbarity proved upon the Slave Captains are so extravagant, that they have been attributed to insanity."

The trade went onward with such force and rapidity, that, by the year 1768, the numbers which the English ships alone annually carried amounted to 59,400 ; and Mr. Dundas said in Parliament (1791), that the British importation consisted of 74,000. And these numbers, extraordinary as they seem, according to Anthony Benezet, fall far short of the truth.

It was a war waged by white men for two centuries, against human nature.

SLAVERY IN
MASSACHU-
SETTS.

The first impulse of the Massachusetts men was to oppose the introduction of Negro Slavery ; and when, in 1645, James Smith, a member of the Boston Church, brought in two negroes and sold them as slaves, Sir Richard Saltonstall made a strong appeal to the court, which at once passed an order, that "y^e neger," who had been brought from Africa, should be sent back without delay, and Smith and his mate to be "laid hold on," and be made to answer for their doings.²

Of the millions stolen away from Africa, this, and one more, are all, so far as I can learn, that were able to escape

¹ See Charleston Mercury.

² Colony Records. Winthrop, vol. ii. Belknap's New Hampshire, vol. i. Walsh's Appeal.

from forced bondage, to return to their homes and friends. The record is briefly this :

Francis Moore tells that the second African who ever returned from American slavery was Job-Ben-Solomon, a Pholey, son of the high priest of Bundo, in the interior of Africa.

In the year 1731, traveling in his country with herds of cattle, he was robbed, seized, and sold to slavery. Brought to America, he was sold to a Maryland planter ; and in a year, he found an opportunity to send a letter to England, written in Arabic, which came into the hands of General Oglethorpe, who had it translated at Oxford, and then took measures to have him released. He was brought to England, where he remained for a year, and then returned to Africa. He found that war for slaves had swept over his country, and that his wife had married another man ; but he took her back, for he said she can not be blamed.¹

In the year 1641, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties was adopted. One of these (91) recognized and provided that men taken in war, and men who sold themselves, or were sold, might be held as slaves. The Connecticut Code also recognized slavery. In 1652, the Rhode Island men enacted that no "black mankind" should be held to perpetual service, but should be set free at the end of ten years, like white indentured servants.² Although man-stealing was strongly forbidden, slavery, in some form, came in easily and of course ; and but little resistance was made to it.

Some Indians appear to have been held as slaves at an early day. Winthrop, in his will, gives to his son Adam, his island—"also my Indians there." Through all the wars, captive Indians were sold as slaves ; and after King Philip's War, Roger Williams and others engaged in buying and selling the captives—though it was nominally for a term of years. Still from that time forth, Indians were

¹ "The Tyrannical Liberty-man." *N. H.*, 1795.

² Bancroft's *Hist.*, vol. i., 174.

held as slaves without compunction, and were imported from Carolina into New England, till, in 1712, Massachusetts prohibited their further introduction.

The custom of buying the services of white
THE SPIRITS. men for a term of years (7 to 10) was universal ; and both men and women were brought over in ship-loads, and sold at auction, to pay the expenses of passage, etc. This familiarized the mind to the idea of buying men—and if for seven years, why not for ten, or thirty, or indeed for life ? But the want of laborers in the colonies, started into life a curious set of men in England, called “Spirits,” whose business it was to procure, by fraud or force, and sell to the ship-masters, servants who could be sold again at a profit. This required governmental interference, as appears by the following order, found some years ago among the papers belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is a printed paper :¹

“At the Court held at Whitehall, 13th Dec., 1682.

“Whereas it has been represented to his Majesty that by reason of the frequent abuses of a lewd sort of people called Spirits, in seducing many of his Majesty’s subjects to go on shipboard, where they have been seized and carried by force to his Majesty’s plantations in America, and that many idle persons, who have listed themselves voluntarily to be transported thither, and received money upon their entering in service for that purpose, have afterwards pretended they were betrayed and carried away against their wills, and pruned their friends to prosecute the merchants who transported them,” etc., etc. ; “be it therefore ordered,” etc.

Not only did the “Spirits” entice men on board and kidnap them, but they went ashore and kidnapped them, as we learn by extracts from the Salem Court records.

The Testimony of John Ring.—“This deponent saith that he with divers others were stolen in Ireland by some of the English soldiers in the night, out of their beds, and

¹ From J. Coffin.

brought to Mr. Dill's ship, where the boate lay ready to receive them ; and in their way as they went, some others they tooke with them against their consents and brought them aboard the said ship, where there were divers others of their countrymen weeping and crying because they were stolen away from theyr friends, they all declaring the same; and amongst the rest were these two men, William Donning and Philip Welch, and there they were kept until upon a Lord's day in the morning the Master set sayle, and left some of his water and vessels behind for haste, as I understood." Sworne in Court, 26 June, 1661.

This was a bill of sale, and shows what nine years' service was valued at :

"10th May, 1654.—Be it knoune unto all men by these presents that I, George Dill, Master of the ship Goodfellow have sould unto Mr. Samuel Symonds two of the Irish youths I brought over by order of the State of England, the name of one of them is William Dalton, the other Edward Welch, to serve him, his executors or assigns for the space of nine years, and the said Symonds in consideration hereof doth promise and engage to be paid unto the said Master the sum of £26 in corn merchantable or live cattle at or before the end of October next provided he give good assurance for the enjoying of them."

In June, 1661, an action was brought by the Irish youths to recover themselves. Their petition says :

"1661, June.—To the Honoured Court and jury now assembled the humble defence of William Downeing and Philip Welch in the action between them and their Master Wm. Symonds. That which we say in defence of ourselves is that we were brought out of our own country contrary to our minds and wills, and sold here to Mr. Symonds by y^e Master of the ship, Mr. Dill, but what agreement was made between Mr. Symonds and the said Master was never acted by our consent or knowledge, yet notwithstanding we have endeavoured to do him the best service we could these seven complete yeares, which

is three yeares longer than the Spirits used to sell them for at Barbadoes, when they are stolen in England and for our service we have no callings¹ nor wages but meat and cloaths. Now 7 years' service being so much as is the practice of old England and thought meet in this place and we being both above 21 years of age we hope the Honored Court and Jury will seriously consider our conditions."

Such advertisements as these indicate the custom :

"Just imported from Dublin, in the brig Derby, a parcel of Irish servants, both Men and Women, and to be sold cheap by Israel Boardman, at Stamford. January 5th, 1764."²

White servants, who sold their services, were brought to America as late as 1817, as appears from the following advertisement in a Philadelphia paper :³

"The Passengers on board the brig Rubona, from Amsterdam, and who are willing to engage themselves for a limited time, to defray the expenses of their passage, &c. Apply on board, or to W. Odlin & Co., No. 38 South Wharves."

Negro Slavery crept slowly into New England, while the traffic was brisk elsewhere. It went on in Virginia ; Maryland established it at once, though it had been pronounced unchristian by Popes of the Catholic Church ; it was coëval with the settlement of South Carolina, where, in 1671, Sir John Yeatmans brought in a cargo of Negroes from Barbadoes. The numbers increased in a century so dangerously, that in 1761 the Provincial Assembly there laid a heavy duty on them amounting to prohibition, which was vetoed by the Crown. In Georgia, Slavery was positively prohibited (1734). General Oglethorpe said, "Slavery is against the Gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England. We refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime."

As late as May, 1680, Governor Bradstreet wrote from Massachusetts to the Lords of the Privy Council :

¹ Trades.

² Connecticut Gazette.

³ Walsh's Appeal, Preface.

“There hath been no company of blacks or slaves brought into the country since the beginning of this plantation, for the space of fifty years, only one small vessel about two years since, after twenty months’ voyage to Madagascar, brought hither betwixt forty and fifty negroes, most women and children, sold here for ten, fifteen, and twenty pounds apiece, which stood the merchants in neer forty pounds apiece one with another : now and then two or three negro’s are brought hither from Barbados and other of his majestie’s plantations, and sold here for about twenty pounds apiece, so that there may bee within our government about one hundred or one hundred and twenty, and it may be as many Scots brought hither and sold for servants in the time of the war with Scotland, and most now married and living here, and about halfe so many Irish brought hither at several times as Servants.”

The Slave trade was looked upon in New England with some degree of infamy, as it seems to have been everywhere, and few engaged in it. Dr. Belknap says, in his replies to Judge Tucker,¹ “The rum distilled here was the mainspring of this traffic ;” and most of those engaged in it from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, carried cargoes of Rum to Africa, and brought a return Cargo of Negroes to the West Indies and the Southern Colonies ; and a few of them as it were stuck to the vessel, and were brought to New England.” In 1680 Governor Leete, in his answer to the Commissioners from England, said, there were not more than thirty slaves in the colony ; there came sometimes three or four blacks from Barbadoes, which are sold for £22 each.

No person in New England, after 1645, appears to have made any attempts to resist the introduction of negro slaves ; about the year 1710, Judge Sewall wrote a short tract against it, called “The Selling of Joseph ;” and in his diary of 1716, he says, “I essayed to prevent negroes

¹ 1795 : M. H. Coll. vol. iv.

and Indians being rated¹ with horses and cattle, but did not succeed ;" it slipped in so easily.

As they came in, they were distributed among the people, and were mostly owned, one, two, or three in a family. Clergymen were not unlikely to own one or two. One of my Reverend ancestors found his negro Cuff, bowing and mumbling before a rough God, that he had made out of stone.

"What 's this, Cuff ?" he said, sharply.

Cuff at last answered,

"White man steal nigger ; nigger no like white man's God. Cuff make his own God and den he know 'em."

Negroes and Indians were bought and sold without compunction, by Priest and People alike.

Between 1680 and 1700, a large number were added to the population. That the number was small prior to 1680, is evident from the wills and inventories. In the inventory of Captain Paul White's estate, Newbury, I find in 1679, "one negro," £60. In the will of Henry Jaques, 1687, he says, "my will is that whereas Jasper, my Indian, hath been a good servant to me, he shall serve my executor faithfully six years after my decease, and then he shall be free." In Richard Dummer's estate, 1679, I find "one negro," £60. In 1698, Richard Dale mentions five slaves in his will. Two of them, Grace and Betty, were set free. To his son William he gives negro boy Mingo, to daughter Hannah, negro maid Lucy, and to one of his children he gives "my great Bible, musket, fowling-piece, and also negro boy Tom." In 1702, Samuel Plumer gives freedom to Indian servant Kate. In 1708, Thomas Steel sells to John Farnum, of Boston, for £35, an Indian boy called Harry, imported "into the Province from South Carolina." In 1725, Theophilus Cotton, of Hampton, N. H., sells to Jonathan Poore, of Newbury, "all that my Indian boy Sippai, aged about sixteen." In the office of the Register of Deeds, Salem, I find under date of 1649, De-

¹ Taxed.

cember 29th, a deed from William Hilton, of Newbury, to George Carr, for one quarter part of a vessel, James, my Indian, with all the interest I have in him, to be his servant forever."

In Honorable Nathaniel Coffin's account-book, I find the following :

1731. An account of some <i>things</i> my son Edward had of mee.		
Paid for his learning, and his books, and his medicine,	. . .	£70
To Jack, a negro man,	. . . . .	50
To 8 sheep, 2 hogsheads of lime, a half bushel oatmeal, and 29 lbs. of flax.	}	12 18s.
Total,	. . . . .	£132 18s.

The Reverend Matthias Plant, of Newbury, in his diary 22d of June, 1735, thus writes, "I wrote to Mr. Salmon, of Barbadoes, to send me a negro."

In book 11th, page 23, of Deeds of Essex county, is the following account of an agreement between Richard Smith and his servant James :

"Whereas the said James, servant and bondman unto said Richard, hath had a desire to marry, and having manifested the same unto his said master, who partly promises to buy a yoak-fellow for him, but upon some consideration hath thought it better for him to make said James, his servant, serve five years without marriage, then pay £30 for his liberty." 1689.

The newspapers of the day contain such advertisements as these :

"A likely Negro wench and child to be sold. Inquire of the Printer."

"To be sold by the subscriber, of Branford, a likely negro wench, 18 years of age ; is acquainted with all sorts of House-work ; is sold for no fault. June 15, 1763."¹

Under date, October 4, 1708, the Boston News Letter has the following advertisement :

"A Negro woman, aged about 21 years, to be sold.

¹ Connecticut Gazette.

Inquire in the Post Office, in Cornhill, Boston, and know further."

"Two Negro men to be sold, on reasonable Terms. Inquire at the Post Office, in Cornhill, Boston, and know further."

October 11. "An Indian woman, aged about thirty years, to be sold. Inquire at the Post Office, in Cornhill, Boston, and know further."

November 22. "A Lusty Carolina Indian woman, fit for any Dairy service, to be sold on reasonable terms. Inquire, etc."

Negroes were looked upon as a good dog is now ; they were commonly treated with kindness, but were liable to abuse, as dogs are. The prejudice against blacks is stronger now in New England, than it was in the end of the day of slavery ; for Dr. Belknap mentions [1795], that slaves often sat at the same table with their masters ; that they voted ; and that one of them, "a man of good sense and morals," "was a town-clerk in one of our country towns, and had a good school education."¹ But in churches, "God's house," they were not expected to sit with white folks ; and to this day, two poor pews are allotted to them, marked "B. M." and "B. W." The only good thing that has grown out of this, so far as I know, is the opportunity which it gave for a practical joke. One Mr. William Mills had hired an awkward country lad to work for him. When Sunday came, the boy said,

"Bill, I want to go to meeting ; where shall I set ?"

Mills said, "When you go in, you look 'round, you will see, near the door, my pew, with my name marked on it, 'B. M.,' which stands for Bill Mills. You just sit there whenever you want to."

The traditions of slavery are yet strong in New England ; and a large minority of the people there so dislike

¹ His name was Wentworth Chiswell. He was the town clerk of Newmarket, N. H. He was a mulatto. I have seen his writing. J. C.

the blacks, that they favor slavery. Although the numbers of blacks there have become so small, it has been as yet impossible to procure for them in Connecticut the right of voting ; and to-day, a negro, of whatever rank or condition, is liable to insult. It was but a few months since, that I took a seat in the cars by the side of a well-dressed negro, who seemed much excited. In a short conversation with him, I discovered that he had been rudely treated by one or more young men, and had been called a "damn'd nigger." He was a rich and cultivated man, who had traveled over Europe, had seen the best society there, and was a merchant in the Island of Hayti, and nephew of the Emperor. Yet Connecticut is called a civilized community.

Marriage by a minister was allowed among the slaves, and indiscriminate concubinage, which now prevails in the slave States, was avoided in New England.

One of the curious customs which grew up among the New England slaves, was a burlesque Election, in imitation of the whites. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, it became a negro holiday by common consent. Two candidates were put up, and party spirit ran high as among the whites. Speeches were made, like those made by white men—often better ; and when the Election was over, the successful candidate regaled his friends ; and, like the whites, most of them got drunk. As the master was expected to pay the bills, it became a serious matter. About the year 1800, a slave of E. R. Potter having been elected in Rhode Island, and the bills coming in large, Mr. Potter had an interview with the new Governor, and mildly stated that one of them would be obliged to give up politics, or both would be ruined.¹ In the Norwich burying-ground, is a grave-stone with this inscription : "In memory of Boston Trow-Trow, Governor of the African tribe in this town, who died 1772, aged 66."

¹ Peterson's Rhode Island.

PHILLIS
WHEATLEY.

One of those exceptional cases, which occur in spite of the degrading influences of slavery, was that of Phillis Wheatley. She was a little child of seven years old in the slave-market of Boston, when, in the year 1761, Mr. John Wheatley bought her for a servant. The only thing the child seemed to remember of her home in Africa, was, that her mother poured out water before the rising sun—no doubt, a religious rite. Without any help she soon learned to read, and showed such signs of intelligence and docility, that Mrs. Wheatley became attached to her, and made her a friend, not a servant. When quite young, she displayed a talent for versification which surprised every one, and soon made her conspicuous. She was received, with her mistress, in the best society of Boston, and among honorable people was accepted as a human being, not despised and sold as a brute.

A great number of Phillis Wheatley's pieces were written to commemorate the deaths of the friends who had been kind to her. The little piece following is on the death of a young gentleman of great promise :

“ Who taught thee conflict with the powers of night,
To vanquish Satan in the fields of fight ?
Who strung thy feeble arms with might unknown ?
How great thy conquest, and how bright thy crown ?
War with each principedom, throne, and power is o'er,
The scene is ended, to return no more.
Oh, could my muse thy seat on high behold,
How decked with laurel and enriched with gold !
Oh, could she hear what praise thy harp employs,
How sweet thine anthems, how divine thy joys,
What heavenly grandeur should exalt her strain !
What holy raptures in her numbers reign !
To soothe the troubles of the mind to peace,
To still the tumult of life's tossing seas,
To ease the anguish of the parent's heart,
What shall my sympathizing verse impart ?
Where is the balm to heal so deep a wound ?
Where shall a sovereign remedy be found ?
Look, gracious spirit ! from thy heavenly bower
And thy full joys into their bosom pour :

The raging tempest of their griefs control,
 And spread the dawn of glory through the soul,
 To eye the path the saint departed trod,
 And trace him to the bosom of his God."

The following passage on Sleep, from a poem of some length, *On the Providence of God*, shows a very considerable reach of thought, and no mean gifts of expression :

"As reason's powers by day our God disclose,
 So may we trace him in the night's repose.
 Say, what is sleep? and dreams, how passing strange!
 When action ceases, and ideas range
 Licentious and unbounded o'er the plains,
 Where fancy's queen in giddy triumph reigns.
 Hear in soft strains the dreaming lover sigh
 To a kind fair, and rave in jealousy;
 On pleasure now, and now on vengeance bent,
 The lab'ring passions struggle for a vent.
 What power, O man! thy reason then restores,
 So long suspended in nocturnal hours?
 What secret hand returns* the mental train,
 And gives improved thine active powers again?
 From thee, O man! what gratitude should rise!
 And when from balmy sleep thou op'st thine eyes,
 Let thy first thoughts be praises to the skies.
 How merciful our God, who thus imparts
 Overflowing tides of joy to human hearts,
 When wants and woes might be our righteous lot,
 Our God forgetting, by our God forgot!"

Her feelings were enlisted on the side of the colonies in their struggles for Liberty ; and in an Address to the Earl of Dartmouth, she says—

"Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,
 Wonder from whence my love of freedom sprung;
 Whence flow those wishes for the common good,
 By feeling hearts alone best understood—
 I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate,
 Was snatched from Afric's fancied happy seat.
 What pangs excruciating must molest,
 What sorrows labor in my parents' breast!
 Steeled was that soul, and by no misery moved,
 That from a father seized his babe beloved:
 Such, such my case. And can I then but pray
 Others may never feel tyrannic sway!"

* Returns—a common colloquial error for restores.

Her poetry like most that's found in Standard British Poets, was certainly remarkable as the production of a child of that despised and contemned race. Her constitution was slender ; and in company with a friend, she visited England, where she was received by all with kindness and attention. But she returned to close the eyes of her mistress, and then married a man who was selfish and inefficient. She lived but a few years more, and died in sorrow and distress.

How many mute singers among that black race, have lived as well as died in shame and slavery, no one can tell.

Mild as slavery was in New England, it produced some of its inevitable results. Even under the best circumstances, slaves preferred to own themselves, and took the necessary steps to do so, as these newspaper advertisements show :

November 15, 1708. "*Ran away* from his master, Colonel Nicholas Paige, of Rumley Marsh, on Tuesday, the 2d of this instant, November, a Negro Man-servant, aged about 45 years, called Jack Bill, of middle stature, a comely fellow, speaks good English," etc., etc.

December 6. "*Ran away* from his master, Ambrose Vincent, Silk Dyer of Boston, on Tuesday, the 16th of November last, an Irish Lad, called Darby Ragan, aged about 17 years," etc.

December 13. "*Ran away* from his master, George Shore, of Boston, Taylor, on the Lord's Day night, the 5th current, two servant lads, aged about 14 years," etc.

August 13, 1711. "*Ran away* from her master, John Jenkins, of Boston, Mariner, the 8th of this instant, August, a Carolina Indian Maid-servant, named Moll, aged about 20 years, speaks good English, a short, thick, fat wench, having short hair, is lame in one of her hips, and goes waddling," etc.

In the Boston Gazette or Country Journal, of Monday, July 7, 1755, is the following tragic notice :

A SLAVE
BURNED TO
DEATH.

“On Monday evening last, died suddenly at Charlestown, Captain John Codman, of that place. Upon suspicion of his being poyson’d, his Body was opened and therein was found a Quantity of Poyson undissolved. Since which a Negroe man (well known for his Roguery), who belonged to the deceas’d, was taken up and examined, who said, that two Negro Women, belonging to the family, had committed this horrid Fact ; but ’tis tho’t they are innocent, as a Quantity of the same stuff has since been found under his Possession. The Fellow is now in Gaol, and it is hoped he will soon meet with Justice adequate to this villainous Scene.”

This was the first step in the fearful History, though we do not now know what harshness, or cruelty, or suffering led to the “horrid fact.” But the minds of the people were exercised, for there were many slaves owned in New England, and no one knew whose turn might not come next. The curse of slavery carried with it its trail of evils.

The next published account of this affair is under date of August 25, 1755.¹

“Last Tuesday, in the Afternoon, at the Assizes held at Cambridge, Phillis, a Negro Woman, and Mark, a Negro Man, servants to the late Captain Codman, of Charlestown, deceased, who were found guilty of poisoning their Master, received sentence of Death. The said Phillis to be drawn to the place of Execution, and there burnt to Death ; and the said Mark, to be drawn to the place of Execution, and there be hanged by the neck till he be dead ; which sentences,” etc. We then find the whole people for miles around assembled at Cambridge, to witness the awful ending of this miserable tragedy.

“Thursday last (September 9th), were executed at Cambridge, pursuant to their sentences, Mark and Phillis, two negro servants,” etc. “They were both drawn from the Prison to the place of Execution, attended by the greatest Number of Spectators ever known on such an Oc-

¹ Boston Evening Post.

casion, where the former was hanged by the neck till dead, after which, his Body was Gibbeted ; and the latter was burnt to Death.”¹ No comments are indulged in by the Journalist, and it is only necessary to say, that such punishments have disappeared, where slavery has ceased its reign.

But these were not the worst features of New England Slavery. A slave class must contain desperate and reckless men, for slavery is a crime against human nature, and human nature must resist it.

From the diary of Rev. Jonathan Parsons of Newbury, now Newburyport, I extract the following :²

“1754, Jan. 15. There was preparation made for burning the town of Boston by the negroes, but the fire was happily discovered, and the intended destruction was prevented. The next day, Thursday, the prison was filled with negroes, and care taken to find out who set them at work. ’T was thought to be the Papists, as a number came to town lately, and dispersed about the town.”

Slaves having no rights or property are regardless of those of others, and, of course, where slavery exists there will be stealing, and crime, and reckless desperation. The people of New England lived in constant fear of their slaves, as the people of Carolina do now ; and severe slave laws were made throughout the New England States. An abstract of the Legislation of Massachusetts and Connecticut will show their severity and harshness ; that of Rhode Island and New Hampshire was essentially the same.³

The Town Records of Boston, show what other wrongs were deemed necessary to sustain that of Slavery :

Mr. Thomas Deane (1661) was fined, and forbid to em-

¹ The two slaves, who poisoned their master, were owned by Captain John Codman, who, in his will, had ordered them to be set free at his death. By some means the slaves found it out, and in order to be free the sooner, they poisoned him. Phillis was burned alive, near Cambridge College.—J. C.

² J. Coffin.

³ See Appendix, vol. ii.

ploy a negro as Cooper, or “any other Manufacture or Science.” Free negroes, or Indians who entertained any slaves in their houses, were subject to imprisonment and whipping (1723). Free negroes and Indians were whipped who kept arms. They were forbid to sell, on public days, any cakes or drinks. They were compelled to bind out all their children before they were *four* years old, to some English Master. If they received any stolen goods, they were to be whipped and banished, and if they returned, were to be imprisoned for life. If convicted of theft, they were to be “shipt off beyond sea.”

Slaves were forbidden to be out an hour after sunset, upon pain of whipping and imprisonments. They were forbidden to meet together in the streets more than two at a time. A slave who assaulted a white man, was to be whipped and sent beyond sea, whatever the provocation. Negroes, Indians, and Mulattoes were forbid to serve as Porters in Boston, except they gave security. Their testimony was not received like a white man’s in Courts. They were forbidden to go to fires at night. They could not bury their friends after nightfall, or on the Lord’s day (1723). Negro, Indian, and Mulatto Slaves were forbidden to buy any thing in the markets, lest it should enhance prices (1728). In 1646 they were forbidden to keep hogs.

These citations will serve to show the mischiefs which sprang up all over New England in consequence of slavery, and what extreme measures were resorted to, to guard themselves from those dangers which could not be cured while Slavery existed.

In 1745 English Merchants were the great Slave-traders of the world, and their ships darkened every sea; they urged that the Slave-trade was the pillar and support of the American Colonies and Islands; and no man was tolerated who opened his mouth against this trade and the mercantile interest. The number of slaves carried away from Af-

rica before the abolition of the traffic, was estimated at Nine Millions ; and those carried by England alone at Six Millions—resulting in enormous profits. But we may estimate the number destroyed in Africa in the prosecution of the trade at an equal number ; so that we have Nine Millions carried into Slavery, and Nine Millions destroyed. From this time to the end of the American Revolution, the whole world plunged into the Slave-trade, and every Colony was stocked with negroes. This excess and extravagance began to excite the inquiry of the wise, and the scruples of the sensitive. “Where would it end ? and what mischief and misery would it not generate ?” were questions that were asked. Let us briefly review the opposition of the American Colonies, and the Abolition of Slavery in New England, before alluding to that of England.

The early Law of Massachusetts (1646) against Man-stealing, and of Rhode Island (1652), against perpetual Slavery, seem to have been forgotten and neglected. But about 1701 the angel of God descended, and the waters were slightly moved in Massachusetts. Boston requested her Representatives to put a stop to Negro Slavery,² and in 1703 a duty of £4 per negro was laid, which it was hoped would serve as a prohibition ; but it was evaded, and negroes were smuggled in freely. Little attention was given to this important matter from that time till about 1754 ; then John Woolman, a New Jersey tailor, and Anthony Benezet, a Pennsylvania Quaker, began to assert that Slaves had Rights. In advance of the American Revolution the Rights of Man were discussed, and generous-hearted and wise-headed men began to perceive the injustice and the coming evils of Slavery. In 1761 the best men of Virginia knew that Saxon freemen were better than negro slaves. Richard Henry Lee spoke warmly against the traffic, and the provincial Legislature laid a prohibitory duty on the importation of Slaves ; but

¹ Walsh's Appeal.

² M. H. Coll., ii., vol. viii.

the British Merchants resisted it, and the Ministry vetoed this Act of the Legislature.

It is clear that the determination of England to force Slaves into the Colonies was one of the exasperating causes of that resistance which resulted in the American Revolution. As early as 1761, James Otis, the eloquent "incendiary" of Boston, began the attack upon Slavery there. The public mind was quickened, and he was followed by Nathaniel Appleton and James Swan, of Boston, and by Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia.

In 1766 the controversy concerning Slavery in Massachusetts was strong, and, in 1767, an attempt was made in the Legislature to abolish the Slave-trade. A bill was brought into the House of Representatives to prevent the unnatural and "unwarrantable custom of enslaving mankind and the importation of Slaves into the province;" but the Council, then the upper house, non-concurring, it failed.

It is known, that if it had reached the Governor it would have failed there, for his instructions from England were to veto it. Those sent to Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, dated June 30, 1761, say, "You are not to give your assent to or pass any law imposing duties on negroes imported in New Hampshire."¹ Dr. Franklin wrote to Dean Woodward in April 1773: "I have since had the satisfaction to learn that a disposition to abolish Slavery exists in North America; that even the Virginia Assembly have petitioned the King for permission to make a law for preventing the importation of more into that Colony. This request, however, will probably not be granted, as their former laws of that kind have always been repealed, and as the interest of a few Merchants here has more weight."²

But in January, 1774, both houses of the Massachusetts Legislature passed a bill prohibiting the bringing in more slaves. The slaves sent their humble petition to the Governor, in which they say:

¹ Gordon's History, vol. v., sect. 2.

² Spark's Franklin, vol. viii., p. 42.

“ We have no property ! we have no wives ! we have no city ! no country ! But we have a Father in heaven, and are determined, so far as his grace shall enable us, and so far as our degraded, contemptuous life will admit, to keep all his commandments.”

This bill Governor Hutchinson vetoed, and plead his instructions from the Crown. General Gage afterward did the same.

But public opinion was thoroughly roused, partly by the injustice and absurdity of slavery, but more at the willful wickedness of English statesmen and merchants ; and the people sustained the slaves in very extraordinary steps.

In 1770, James, a slave of Richard Lechmere of Cambridge, brought an action against his master for detaining him in bondage. The ablest counsel in the State were employed on both sides. The verdict was in favor of James. Many other slaves raised money and brought actions in the same way, and in every subsequent claim of the same nature, “ the juries invariably gave their verdict in favor of liberty.” Many masters after 1770 gave their slaves their liberty. It should be remembered that the decision in the LECHMERE CASE was two years before the Somerset case in England.

The Quakers seem to have been before all others. The following is an extract from a letter written in Philadelphia in Feb., 1770 :

“ The Quakers have just given a very singular proof of their humanity and love of liberty. The greatest number of those who reside in this colony have assembled and unanimously agreed to give freedom to all their negro slaves, and most of them have already conformed to this resolution. ‘ To what purpose,’ said one of the principal of them, ‘ is it to oppose the tyranny of the British Parliament, whilst we ourselves set the example of tyranny by holding in slavery beings who are our equals, only because their skin is black, and they have wool instead of hair ? ’ ”

The opposition to the further introduction and extension

THE LECHMERE
SLAVE CASE.

of slavery seems then to have been nearly universal from Maine to Georgia. In Prince George's County, Va., in June, 1774, it was voted, in general meeting of the citizens, that "the African slave-trade is injurious to the colony, because it obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful people from settling, and occasions an annual increase in the balance of trade against the colony." A similar meeting in Fairfax County, with George Washington in the chair, resolved that "it is the opinion of this meeting that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies; and in this connection we take the opportunity of declaring our most earnest wish to see an entire stop put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade."

On the 20th of October, 1774, the Continental Congress unanimously resolved: "We, for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of country, as follows: we will neither import nor purchase any slaves imported after the first day of December next, after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and we will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it." The next day Congress approved an Address to the people of Great Britain, commencing with the following language: "When a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of *forging chains* for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns *advocate* of *slavery* and *oppression*, there is reason to believe she has either *ceased to be virtuous*, or has been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers."

Patrick Henry, of Virginia, in 1773 wrote respecting slavery as follows: "Is it not amazing that at a time when

the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty—that in such an age and such a country we find men, professing a religion the most humane, mild, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty? Would any one believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not—I can not justify it. I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil. Every thing we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and an abhorrence of slavery.¹

The opinions of Jefferson, and Washington, and Madison, and Wythe, and Pinckney, in opposition to slavery, are well known.

The original *draft* of the Declaration of Independence, prepared by Jefferson, contained the following emphatic statement against the slave-trade:

“He (the King) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MAN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which HE has deprived them, by murdering the people

¹ Allen, Biog. Dict. See Wirt's Life.

upon whom he obtruded them ; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

There is evidence enough to show that this clause was omitted from the Declaration as adopted, because it was not technically true of George III., and not because of any opposition on the part of the slaveholders.¹

On the 6th of April, 1776, the Congress resolved, apparently without dissent, "That no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen Colonies."²

These were the words and deeds of honest men—of slaveholders who were not fanatics.

But the matter, once taken hold of in New England, was not allowed to subside : it was pressed to an issue. Let us look at some of the positions taken and sustained, through a discussion of twenty years. Many persons had never heard the question of Slavery discussed, and had never thought of its injustice and impolicy. Now, in their own struggles for liberty, they enunciated such principles as these :

"The truth is, Liberty is sweet, and Slavery is horrible !"³

"Can the negroes praise God,* that, in violation of all right, they were forced beyond the Atlantic to be our slaves ?"

Some said—"For people to be *talking of liberty*, and at the same time to continue importing and making slaves of whole cargoes of their fellow-creatures, is a solecism in language."

Many said—"But if the slaves are set at liberty, shall we not have the streets filled with robbers, house-breakers, etc.?" To which it was replied—

"No. Now they are debauched, and depraved, and ex-

¹ See Lossing's Field Book. Life of Richard Henry Lee.

² Journals of Congress.

³ "The Tyrannical Libertymen." Hanover, N. H., 1795.

asperated by Slavery. Free them, and you will give them the best means of becoming men and citizens.”¹

“To labor solely for the benefit of other men, is repugnant to every principle of the human heart.” “That country produces most where the farmers are freeholders, possessing the fee simple of their lands. That country produces least where the cultivators are slaves, who have no interest in their own labors, and who work only by compulsion.”²

Theodore Dwight said—“One of the most obvious of its detestable consequences, is a disposition to cruelty and injustice.” He continues—“Nay, masters procreate the slaves, which not only perform every menial and degrading office for them, but often are sold by them in market like the beasts of the field.”

Speaking of the effect of abolishing Slavery, he says—“Few men love their country with a more sincere and ardent affection than myself. Dear as it is to me, I am more solicitous for its justice than for its peace.”³

Dr. Samuel Hopkins, famous among New England Divines of the last century, was the first to preach against slavery, and he carried his church at Newport along with him. He did not rest there, but went to his friend Dr. Bellamy, who owned a slave, and appealed to him. Dr. Bellamy gave in reply the usual arguments: how the negro was better off as a slave, and indeed was so content, that he would not be free if he could.

“Will you give him his freedom if he desire it?” asked Hopkins.

“I certainly will,” said Dr. Bellamy.

So they went to the negro, who was a capital farmer, and Hopkins said:

“Have you a good master?”

“Oh, yes; berry good—berry good massa.”

¹ The Appendix, or Some Observations on the Expediency of the Petition of the Africans, etc. Boston: 1773.

² Noah Webster's Discourse. ³ Dwight's Discourse. Hartford, May, 1794.

"But are you happy?"

"Oh, yes, berry happy, indeed."

Dr. Bellamy enjoyed this, and felt sure that he should not lose his farmer.

"Would you be more happy if you were free?" asked Hopkins.

"Oh, yes, massa; berry much more happy!"

Dr. Bellamy was an honest, Christian man, and he said to him:

"From this moment you are free!"¹

In 1773, Dr. Hopkins and Dr. Stiles issued an appeal to the Christian community to send Missionaries to Africa; for Hopkins had learned the desolate condition of the Black Continent, from the slaves brought into Newport; and in 1776, he published his celebrated "Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans; showing it to be the Duty and Interest of the American States to Emancipate all their Slaves." This was dedicated to Congress, was read, and had a marked influence. These men, unlike some New England Divines of the present time, used their talents and learning to expose the wickedness and evil of slavery, not to seek excuses and defenses for it.

Deacon Benjamin Coleman, of Newbury, addressed long letters to the Reverend Moses Parsons [1775, 1780], Pastor of the Church in Byfield Parish. The following extract will show how the Deacon took hold of the matter:

"Good God! what do such men mean? to talk of private property in the human species—creatures made in the image of God, and endowed with all the rational faculties and immortal principles as we are, and differing in nothing from us, except color and education; to call such people men and women, private property—shocking, indeed, to a human mind! What, if I had bought you, sir, of some person that pretended a right to sell you, and had paid a large sum of money for you, and kept you still in Slavery and Bondage, and should plead the authority

¹ Whittier's Old Portraits.

of the General Court, and the common and constant custom of the people in behalf of my conduct towards you ; would you not be ready to curse that body that maintained such a law, or indulged one man to act so toward another ? Matthew vii. 2."

In another communication, 1780, he continues at length : " And now, Reverend Sir, I would humbly ask, have *you* had no hand in this Iniquitous man-stealing, or Slave-trade ? have you not bought divers of these people for money (people made of the same flesh and blood with yourself and your Children), and kept them in Bondage ? —one of which, if I mistake not, you have Baptized, and received as a member of the Church, at Byfield ; And Afterwards offered to Sell the same Slave for a large sum of Money. Pray, Sir, is this teaching the way of Righteousness ? is this doing as you would be done by ? is this practicing the great command of our Redeemer, according to that Sacred rule of equity Delivered by our Saviour's own mouth (Matthew vii. 12), ' Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the Prophets ? ' " ¹

" The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave-trade, and of the Slavery of the Africans," was presented in a Sermon by Jonathan Edwards, D.D.,² delivered before the Society for the Promotion of Freedom, and for the relief of Persons unlawfully holden in Bondage.

Edwards started with the assertion, " That all men are born equally free " —the corner-stone of our Declaration of Independence, and of our Institutions—and said : " If this be true, the Africans are, of nature, equally entitled to freedom as we are ; and therefore we have no more right to enslave, or to afford aid to enslave them, than they have to do the same to us. They have the same right to their freedom which they have to their property or their lives. Therefore, to enslave them is as really, and

¹ Coffin's Newbury.

² New Haven, September 15, 1791.

in the same sense, wrong, as to steal from them, to rob, or to murder them."

His second proposition was :

"II. The Slave-trade is wicked and abominable, on account of the cruel manner in which it is carried on."

He states that of the 100,000 annually exported from Africa, 25,000 perish before they arrive in America ; and that another 25,000 die in "the seasoning." And that including these, and those who perish in the wars for the capture of slaves in Africa, 100,000 human beings are annually destroyed to support the Traffic !

"Now," he asks, "does not Justice—does not Humanity shrink from the idea, that in order to procure one slave to gratify our avarice, we should put to death ten human beings?"

He describes the condition of the slaves as follows :

"Nor is this all. The cruel sufferings of these pitiable beings are not yet at an end. Thenceforward they have to drag out a miserable life in absolute slavery, entirely at the disposal of their masters, by whom not only every venial fault, every mere mistake, but even real virtues, are liable to be construed into the most atrocious crimes, and punished as such, according to their caprice or rage, while they are intoxicated, sometimes with liquor, sometimes with passion."

"From these drivers they receive the lash. It is used with such dexterity and severity, as not only to lacerate the skin, but to tear out small portions of the flesh at almost every stroke."

His third position is—

"III. This trade and this slavery are wrong on the ground of impolicy."

1. It depraves the morals of the people.
2. It is destructive to our seamen.
3. It discourages industry, and promotes insolence and lewdness.
4. It discourages population ; and he states, "That in

the late War (of the Revolution), the Southern States found themselves greatly weakened by their slaves, and, therefore, were easily overrun by the British army, is equally notorious." He concludes—"That to carry on the slave-trade, and to introduce slaves into our country, is not only to be guilty of injustice, robbery, and cruelty toward our fellow-men; but it is to injure ourselves and our country; and therefore it is altogether unjustifiable, wicked, and abominable."

He then disposes of the Bible arguments in favor of enslaving the descendants of Ham, and of the argument that God permits it, and therefore intends some men to be made slaves. He says—

"In like manner he suffers some men to be murdered; yet no man in his senses will hence argue the lawfulness of murder."

He says, in reply to those who urge that they use their slaves well—

"Still, every day you rob him of a most valuable and important right."

"Thirty years ago," he says, "scarcely a man in this country thought either the slave-trade or the slavery of the negroes to be wrong;" and "though we must expect opposition, yet if we be steady and persevering, we need not fear that we shall fail of success."

With regard to the claim that the negroes are better off here than in Africa, and, therefore, that slavery is right—he asks that we apply that reasoning to ourselves, and suppose that the Africans should assume that we should be happier in slavery there, and so to proceed to steal and enslave us.

He states that, in Massachusetts, all the negroes in the Commonwealth were liberated, by the new Constitution, in a day, and none of the evils which had been predicted, ensued.

Negroes were allowed to enlist in the Revolutionary army, and so became free, and General Green's Rhode Island Black troops, in 1778, did good service; for they, too,

were fighting for Liberty.¹ At the same day the planters in Carolina, found their slaves escaping from them ; and in trying to secure them, their coasts were left exposed, and were ravaged by the enemy. Over 20,000 slaves, by estimate, escaped from South Carolina alone during the Revolution.²

It has been often said that slavery was abolished in New England, solely because it was unprofitable there. This is not true. I have found no instance where it was urged solely upon that ground, and rarely where it was advocated upon that ground, at all. It was a question there, of Honor, and Justice, and Decency, and not of Profit ; and the men of New England of that day deserve to be put right on the record. Some New England men were afterward culpable, but then they were honorable, notwithstanding their great love of money.

So great was the change in public opinion in favor of emancipation, that in seven years slavery was abolished in six of the then thirteen States ; in Vermont, in 1777, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, 1780 ; New Hampshire in 1783 ; Connecticut and Rhode Island, in 1784. In 1787, not an acknowledged member of the Society of Friends was the owner of a single slave. This sound public opinion existed southward, and resulted in the strongest expression.

Mr. Walsh in his "Appeal," says, "The first opportunity was taken after the Declaration of Independence to extinguish the detestable commerce so long forced upon the Province [Virginia]. In October, 1778, during the tumult and anxiety of the Revolution, the General Assembly passed a law prohibiting, under heavy penalties, the further importation of slaves, and declaring that every slave imported thereafter, should be *immediately free*." "The example of Virginia was followed at different times before the date of the Federal Constitution, by most of the other States."

¹ Updyke's History of the Narragansett Church.

² Holmes.

Jefferson and Wythe, Commissioners for revising the Virginia Laws, agreed upon a bill for gradual emancipation, and Judge Tucker states that between 1782 and 1791, ten thousand slaves were manumitted¹ there.²

Judge Tucker also cites twenty-three acts passed by her Legislature, beginning as far back as 1699, the purpose of which was to check the importation of slaves into that Colony ; and in 1772, their Assembly petitioned the Throne, to remove all those restraints upon the Governors, which forbid their co-operating in the suppression of a traffic which though profitable "*to a few*," was a "trade of great inhumanity, and dangerous to the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions."

The evils which had been foretold of abolition, and which had been used to prevent the abolishment of slavery—did not come. Instead of there being an increase of crime in consequence, there was a diminution of it ; the slaves became hired laborers, and did twice the work, and slowly and imperceptibly, by a law of nature, the negroes vanished from New England, without a struggle.

A few pages will explain the breaking up of the Slave-trade, by England and America. Few now can appreciate the wonderful change of public opinion which was wrought in England respecting Negro Slavery ; and that wonderful change was brought about by a few men, but brave and great-hearted. In the year 1729, for the better sustaining of Slavery in the Colonies, and to continue the slave-traffic, York and Talbot, the Attorney and Solicitor-General of England decided that baptism was no bar to Slavery ; that Negro Slaves could be held in England ; that the flag of England covered Slavery ; and then it

THE SLAVE-
TRADE ABOL-
ISHED.

¹ So great was the number manumitted, that shortly after 1791 (date not remembered), a law was passed prohibiting emancipation in Virginia, unless on condition that the negroes thus freed, should leave the State within a year, and if found within the State, after that time, they shall be re-enslaved and sold.—J. C.

² Hildreth's History, vol. iv.

³ Hildreth's Hist., vol. ii.

did. But the year 1765 came, and then Granville Sharpe, alone but bravely, with zeal, and intelligence, and talent, and perseverance, espoused the cause of the enslaved Africans, and through his efforts the famous Somerset case was decided in 1772, pronouncing, that when a Slave touched the soil of England, he was FREE.

He continued his efforts, and other great men came to his aid. So powerful was the cause and their advocacy of it, that their opponents ceased to argue; and Lord North, in 1783; declined to defend the Slave-trade, and plead that it was NECESSARY. Argument ceased; but when, in 1787, Wilberforce and Clarkson determined to appeal for the suppression of the Slave-trade, the clamor raised was terrific; Merchants, Planters, Money Lenders, Manufacturers, Politicians, and Ministers of Jesus Christ, lifted up their voices against them. The higher classes favored the Trade; they were converts to a pamphlet which stoutly maintained the propriety of the Slave-trade, and claimed to prove its holiness by "Scriptural researches on the Licitness of the Slave-trade."

Fox came to the aid of Wilberforce; he declared the Trade was that of a highwayman, and appealed to Parliament, "that if they did not by their vote mark their abhorrence of a practice so savage, so enormous, so repugnant to all laws, human and divine, they would consign their character to eternal infamy." But Mr. Grosvenor said—and how like he is to the men of to-day, standing in the Senate of the United States—"Gentlemen have exhibited a great deal of eloquence, in exhibiting in horrid colors the traffic in Slaves. He acknowledged that it was not an *amiable trade*; but neither was the trade of a Butcher an *amiable trade*, and yet a mutton chop was nevertheless a good thing."

In 1794 the Commons voted against supplying slaves to foreigners—but even this was lost in the Peers. The matter was agitated and debated, mostly to empty benches, till, at last, in 1807, the pressure of public

opinion forced the passage of Laws, suppressing the Slave-trade, and the Abolitionists seemed to have triumphed. But it was only a seeming triumph; the demand for slaves continued, and, in spite of all laws, human or divine, men continued it as fiercely as before, and more desperately; and it is not yet destroyed. The trade was carried on by British and American vessels, sailing under Spanish and Portuguese flags; and, in 1810, not less than 80,000 slaves were carried from Africa.

In 1815 France consented to the abolition of the Slave-trade. In 1817 Spain, pressed by England, consented to it north of the Equator; and most of the small governments of Europe followed their lead. But neither France nor Spain took any effective measures for enforcing their agreements.

The slave-trade was not abolished by the Federal Constitution till the year 1808, but following the Revolution, it ceased. The first that renewed the traffic, so far as we know, was South Carolina, which, as Mr. Holland one of her statesmen, says in his "Refutation of Calumnies" against her, "in the year 1803, opened her ports to the reception of slaves from the coast of Africa, agreeably to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States." In 1804, Congress prohibited the introduction of slaves into the Territory of Louisiana; but at the next session of Congress, citizens of Louisiana petitioned for a redress of grievances, praying for the rights of "freemen," and that they might not long be "doomed, like the prisoners of France, to read the word Liberty on the walls of prisons." One of their requests was, "that Congress would acknowledge the principle of our being entitled, in virtue of our treaty, to the *free* possession of slaves, and to the *right* of importing slaves." Congress repealed the prohibition, and very much, it is said, by NORTHERN VOTES. But as soon as Congress had admitted the slave-trade into the national territory of Louisiana, other States threw open their ports. And who rushed in to seize the price of

blood? The following statement shows who carried on the trade at the port of Charleston, S. C., from January 1, 1804, to December 31, 1807 :

Charleston had	61	vessels, and	brought	7,723	slaves.
Rhode Island	59	"	"	8,238	"
Baltimore	4	"	"	750	"
Savannah	1	"	"	300	"
Norfolk	2	"	"	287	"
Hartford	1	"	"	250	"
Boston	1	"	"	200	"
Philadelphia	1	"	"	200	"
New Orleans	1	"	"	100	"
British	70	"	"	19,949	"
French	3	"	"	1,078	"
	<hr/> 204			<hr/> 39,075 ¹	"

In regard to the trade at other ports, we have no definite information. But what has been said is sufficient to show, that the whole nation was deeply guilty in the violation of its solemn vow, made in the hour of peril, against the iniquitous traffic.

In New England, the harbors of Bristol and Newport were alive with vessels engaged in the traffic, and large fortunes were rapidly raised from its profits. A few handsome mansions, built with this money, still stand in Rhode Island, but their occupants have disappeared, and public report tells how many of the owners died in disgrace and ruin, and how nearly all the fortunes so raised sunk as rapidly, and carried down with them the children of their creators.

In 1808, the slave-trade was legally abolished by the United States. In 1820, Congress decreed to punish it with death. In 1824, Great Britain and the United States entered into an agreement to suppress the trade.

The census (in Appendix) will show the relation of slaves to whites in 1791.

¹ Speech of Judge Smith of South Carolina, Dec., 1820. Updyke's Hist.

CHAPTER XI.

FEARS OF EPISCOPACY.

TRUTH WILL PREVAIL—FEARS OF SECTS—SAFETY IN SECTS—STABILITY—THE PRAYER-BOOK—MATHER'S DISCOURSE—MISERIES OF CURATES—EMERSON'S VIEW—FIRST EPISCOPAL CHURCH—REVEREND JOHNSON—BISHOP SEABURY—RECTOR CUTLER—ADVANTAGES OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH—CHANDLER'S APPEAL—INTRODUCTION OF BISHOPS—TITHES—OPPOSITION—CHAUNCEY'S REPLY—MAYHEW'S REPLY—EPISCOPALIANS OBJECT—NUMBERS OF EPISCOPALIANS—LAW OF VIRGINIA—OF CONGRESS—BISHOP OF LLANDAFF—"SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL"—MINISTERS' EYES OPENED—MINDS OF MEN PREPARED—CHRISTMAS.

It has been shown, that Toleration of religious worship and teaching¹ was nowhere believed in during the first century of New England ; and that, with the views then held to be true, the Puritans were bound to drive out Quakers, Antinomians, Baptists, and whoever taught doctrines which they believed to be destructive, either to the souls of men, or to the public peace. They came to the dreary wilderness to get away from the despotism of the English Church, which then, as now, was the right arm of the State ; and then was an active power, ready to scourge, to crop, to burn, and to "harry" heretics, or whoever opposed the will of the rulers of State or Church. The Puritan leaders were therefore exceedingly jealous of the influence of Episcopalians, and felt themselves warranted and bound to keep down their influence in the infant Colony. It was for this that they drove away Lyford and Oldham, the Browns, Maverick, Childe, and Vassal ; and for this that they carefully discountenanced the Book of Common Prayer ; and partly for this reason, that they made acquiescence in their own Church practices and be-

¹ "The hydra of schisms and heresies, and the floodgate to all manner of iniquity and danger."—Calamy and Burgess.

liefs a test of citizenship. These stringent tariffs upon speech and worship were all intended to keep out mischief, and to protect their home influences, so highly valued. Some of these, we now know, were mistakes, and, we believe, even then, unnecessary and unwise ; for we have learned that, in a fair field, Truth is stronger than Error. Truth is a positive power, while Error is only strong when backed with physical force. So long as there was no standing army in New England, Truth would have made its way ; as it has done there, and elsewhere, in spite of it.

It must be remembered, therefore, that the Episcopal Church was then quite different from what it is now in this country ; that it had far more to do with political power, and the body and goods of the subject, and less with his soul's salvation. We shall see, therefore, how imperative the necessity which impelled the Puritans to resist its encroachments ; and be led also to the conclusion, that they were wise in their generation, according to the light they had.

No one need fear the destruction of Society from any Religious sect, so long as it confines itself to the domain of mind, morals, and spirit ; but when by combination it becomes strong and begins to put its hand upon the material interests of the people, and into their pockets ; when by Taxes and Tythes it degrades religion into a scheme for providing Place and Wealth, and pomp and power, for its favorites, then its days should be quickly numbered.

The tendency of men when combined together into a CLASS, is to Despotism ; for the bold and crafty will insist upon their own selfish ends, and the rest will allow them to lead. The safety of a State, therefore, is not in one State Church, but in a multiplicity of Sects ; no one of them strong enough to overcome and coerce the rest ; but each living in harmony with all, seeking the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, along its own line of march ; and all moving toward the same great goal, each on its sepa-

rate way. We may, therefore, safely encourage Sects, not fearing divisions.

A single great desire for Good, for material, moral, and spiritual development and growth, should inspire a great nation ; but death and destruction threaten that people who tolerate but one Sect in Church or State. The safety of the State stands strongest upon the fullest liberty of the individual, to think, speak, and act, in Religion or Politics ; and, of course, this liberty being secured to all, no man can infringe upon his neighbor. Such a state, each individual man will support with his voice, his money, and his life ; and a government which is not sustained by a decided majority of the men and women in it, but by an army, cannot, and ought not to stand.

THE BOOK
OF COMMON
PRAYER.

It is difficult, unless we bear in mind the political character of the English Church, to understand the extreme hostility of the Puritans and Republicans to it. The use of the Prayer-Book they strenuously opposed, and they wrote and preached against it, in Old and New England.

In Increase Mather's Discourse (published 1689), the Unlawfulness of "Common Prayer Worship," and of "Kissing the Book in Swearing," are made out at large, with a multiplicity of objections to its use, of which these are two :

"Use not vain Repetitions" (Matt. vii.) "What vain repetitions does the Common Prayer Book abound with ?"

As to Swearing by Book, he says :

"We do not find in the Scripture, that the Lord's servants were wont to swear after that manner." But he does not explain how they were wont to swear.

The Puritans remembered such things as these : How King Charles, in his "Book of Sports," had said, "Our pleasure likewise is, that the Bishop of that diocese (Lancashire) take the like *streight order* with all the *Puritans and Precisians* within the same ; either *constraining* them to conform themselves or leave the country, according to

the laws of our kingdom, and canons of our church, and so to strike equally on both hands against the contemners of our authority and adversaries of our church."

They remembered, too, "The miseries and great hardships of the inferior Clergy in and about London," as set forth at large by a clergyman of the Church of England.¹

He says, "There is something more gross that contributes to our disesteem, and what I should be ashamed to mention were there not too much reason for it. And that is, the vile misconception of our being their (the superior clergy's) servants, because we do their work and receive our wages from them. This, I verily believe, rises in their stomachs, and is as it were *the oyl of their thoughts* whenever they think themselves provoked to use us ill, 'What, shall such a scoundrel as this, that I feed, and clothe, and maintain, that I send upon my errands, and employ in my drudgery every day, pretend to treat me thus? I'll show him who is master,'" etc. "We both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place." 1 Cor. xiv. 11. "Yet he must not follow any trade or worldly labor, upon pain of excommunication."

Such appears then to have been the abject condition of the curates, presented by one of themselves in an appeal to the Bishop of London:

"The Burthen of the ministry, you know, lies chiefly upon our shoulders; our principals are absent; they are hunting about for more preferments," etc.

He continues further: "This yoke we desire, in all humility, to have removed from our necks, that the common calumny of our enemies in time may vanish, viz., 'That the clergy of the Church of England are the greatest tyrants to one another.'" He begs for a share of the people's oblations. "But here again, the rector and parish officers step in, and sweep away all; some to be guzzled and consumed in taverns, and some to be squan-

¹ London, 1723.

dered in coach-hire, and attendance on great *men's levies*, etc."

" 'Tis a cruel advantage," he urges, "that they make of his necessities, when they compel a *poor brother*, that's grown old in the service, and has nothing else to trust to, to read prayers for twopence a time and a dish of coffee; to preach for twelve pence a sermon and a Sunday's dinner."

Speaking of the Pluralities, he says; "For my part, my Lord, I could never rightly comprehend the *ecclesiastical sense of residing upon a Living*, when the person perhaps lives fifty miles from it."

As late as 1810, it was proposed in Parliament to appropriate £100,000 for the relief of the poor clergy. It was contested and rejected, on the ground that the rich "livings" ought to be taxed to support the starving laborers in the vineyard of the Gospel. It was then stated that about three fifths of the livings in England are in lay patronage, and are bought and sold, or given away to friends and dependents.

A large proportion of the holders of these best livings rarely saw their parishes; they lived where they pleased; and left their duties to a starving curate. Yet they all declared when taking "Holy orders," "that they verily believed themselves moved thereto by the Holy Ghost!"

The Puritans knew well these crying evils of the Establishment in England, and both from policy and principle opposed the introduction of such a legal Establishment into New England.

In the "Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops,"¹ the Bishops are handled at large—in this way:

"And as James in a former place addeth, 'For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, *και παν φανλον πρᾶγμα*, and every evill work.' Now, to apply this to our Prelates. What men in the world more ambitious of Prelacie, and more envious one against another? 'But for

¹ A Rare Tract of 1640.

Prelates, are they not called *Εὐεργέται*, Benefactors, your Grace, your Honor, Right Reverend, Most Reverend Father in God, My Lord, My Reverend Diocesan, My Patron and Benefactor, Our Metropolitan, Primate, My Ordinary, and many such devised titles nowhere to be found in Scripture, but serving to bolster out their Pontifical pride? All such titles Christ forbids.' ”

And the very latest expression of an American writer of to-day, is in this wise :

“The religion of England is part of good-breeding. When you see, on the continent, the well-dressed Englishman come into his ambassador’s chapel, and put his face, for silent prayer, into his smooth-brushed hat, one can not help feeling how much national pride prays with him, and the religion of a gentleman. So far is he from attaching any meaning to the words, that he believes himself to have done almost the generous thing, and that it is very condescending to him to pray to God. A great duke said on the occasion of a victory, in the House of Lords, that he thought the Almighty God had not been well used by them, and that it would become their magnanimity, after so great successes, to take order that a proper acknowledgment be made.

“The torpidity, on the side of religion, of the vigorous English understanding, shows how much wit and folly can agree in one brain. Their religion is a quotation ; their Church is a doll ; and any examination is interdicted with screams of terror.

“The Anglican Church is marked by the grace and good sense of its forms, and by the manly grace of its clergy. The gospel it preaches, is, ‘ By taste ye are saved.’ * * *

“No chemist has prospered in the attempt to crystalize a religion. It is indigenous, like the skin and other vital organs. A new statement every day. * * *

“The statesman knows that the religious element will not fail any more than the supply of fibrine and chyle, but

it is in its nature constructive, and will organize such a Church as it wants. * * *

“The curates are ill-paid, and the prelates are over-paid. This abuse draws into the Church the children of the nobility, and other unfit persons, who have a taste for expense. Thus a bishop is only a surpliced merchant.”¹

There is no question, however, that the honest Episcopalians of New England were urgent for a toleration and acceptance of their form of worship and belief; and felt it a great hardship that this was denied them. In the year 1701, an important Society was established in England, mainly through the efforts of Dr. Bray. This was called “The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.” Bray had been a missionary in Maryland, and knew how much work was to be done to establish and extend Episcopacy in the colonies—to secure which his efforts were now directed. This Society sent over missionary clergymen at various times, the most prominent of whom was Thomas Bradbury Chandler, whose work is hereafter mentioned. To this Society the Episcopalians of New England constantly looked for help, but with little result.

It has been already stated in vol. i., that an Episcopal Church was built in Boston in 1688, where the ministrations of the Church were feebly maintained.

An Episcopal Church was established in Stratford, Ct., (in 1723), over which the Rev. Samuel Johnson presided, as missionary from the English Society. This congregation had been begun in 1707, by a missionary from New York, who occasionally officiated. The Rev. Johnson was, from 1754 to 1763, President of Columbia College; then he returned to his charge in Stratford, where he ended his days in 1772. He was benevolent, kind, and placid, and spent his years in doing good to others.

Samuel Seabury (born in 1728) was the first bishop in America. He took orders in London, in 1753, and officiated, as an Episcopal minister, in various places in Amer-

¹ Emerson's English Traits.

ica. After the War he went to England, to be consecrated Bishop of Connecticut ; but met with difficulty there, and was consecrated by the Nonjuring Bishops of Scotland. He then returned to his diocese, where he died in 1796.

The defection of Rector Cutler of Yale College, in 1722, who, with several others of the Congregational clergy, went over to the Episcopal Church, created great surprise and consternation ; and while it stimulated the English Bishops, to co-operate with the small body of Episcopalians in New England, it also stirred up a powerful opposition there. Some of the weak motives then urged to induce persons to join the English Church, are curiously presented in "The Real Advantages which Ministers and People may Enjoy by Conforming to the Church of England, etc." [1762.]

This is a letter from Francis Blackburn (who had lived in the colonies) to a friend. He urges him to give up the stiff, Puritanical notions, so unfit for a gentleman, and join the English Church. He quotes Bishop Burnet in favor of the "Thirty-nine Articles :"

"Where, then, the Articles are conceived in large and general words, and have not more special and restrained terms in them ; we ought to take that for some indication, that the Church do not intend to tie men up too severely to particular opinions." And this "young gentleman" continues—"Then we subscribe them in this sense, that is in such sense as suits, or is in no sense at all, if you please." "Nor can any man guess, from our clergy's subscriptions to the Thirty-nine Articles, what their real principles are" (?).

It seems that as early as 1638, the intention of sending over a Bishop to New England was entertained ; the purpose of which, in the plain words of Heylyn, was, "to prevent such mischiefs as might ensue from these discontented, dangerous, and schismatical persons, and for their better government ; and back him with some forces to compel, if he

INTRODUCTION
OF BISHOPS
INTO AMERICA.

were not otherwise able to persuade, obedience.”¹ This purpose was effectually hindered then by Hampden and Cromwell; but it was not lost sight of by the Church party, which the Puritans well knew.

Again, in 1672, requests were made, that a Bishop should be sent to Virginia; and after 1700, earnest requests were made to the “Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts;” and, in 1713, things had proceeded so far, that Queen Anne had given orders for the framing of a Bill in Parliament, designed to effect this object; but she soon died, and the matter dropped into forgetfulness or neglect.

From 1760 to the time of the Revolution, both parties were active and indefatigable.

Dr. Chandler, of New Jersey made a powerful plea for the Church of England party, in

“An Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America. By Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D. D., Rector, etc., and Missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.”²

It appears that

Application had been again lately made “to our Superiours,” for the sending over of Bishops, into each Colony. These applications were at first kept secret, but, becoming known, created much interest and excitement in the Colonies.

The introduction of Bishops, then, of course, involved Church establishments, and tythes for their support, and tythes were looked upon with fear and suspicion. Dating back in England to King Ethelwulph [A.D. 854] (who, assuming to own all the lands of England as his Demesne, had passed over one tenth of their produce to the Church), they continued to be levied in England; and how soon might not they too, be introduced into America, when once the Bishops obtained position and power there?

¹ Anderson's History of the Colonial Church. London, 1856.

² New York, 1768.

This project was met with arguments by the Clergy, and was ridiculed in satires and doggerel verses by the people.

After the wars, and the Conquest of Canada, Peace reigned, and the friends of Episcopacy began again to move for the accomplishment of their darling plan.

It was necessary to disclaim all possibility of their exercising secular authority, and all authority over the Laity. The rights of Dissenters in America were to be allowed, and the obnoxious Ecclesiastical Courts were not to be introduced. "But why," asked the astute Chauncey, "limit the authority of the Bishops to the Clergy? If they are so needful for discipline, why should not the Laity enjoy that discipline?" He knew he should wake up the fears of the Episcopal "people."

Sir William Johnson was consulted as to the necessity of establishing Bishops in America, in order to Christianize the Indians, and evidently approved of the plan. "He declares his readiness to assist and co-operate with a Bishop in so good a work, but *says nothing of undertaking it as Principal.*"¹

This appeal was replied to by the strongest controversial theologian of the day in New England, in "An Appeal to the Public, Answered, etc., etc. By Charles Chauncey, D.D., and Pastor of the first Church in Boston."²

The Dissenters said: "We deprecate nothing more than a Bishop's being fixed in America ;³ and with good reason ; for if Bishops once get footing in America, it is more than probable the duties upon trade would be increased, in order to raise a fund to support them ; for there is as much reason to raise moneys upon the Colonies to support an army of Black Coats, as an army of Red Coats." Such were the views of all the Dissenters, and of a number of Church of England men themselves.

Dr. Chauncey said respecting the holiness of the suc-

¹ Chandler's Appeal, 1758.

² Boston, 1768.

³ The Representatives of Massachusetts directed their agents to oppose it.

cession, transmitted through the Church of Rome, "I can not so well express myself here, as in the words of one of the best writers upon the subject in controversie :¹ 'These very Orders in which you glory, you acknowledge you have derived *only* from the Church of Rome—a Church which you yourselves in your *homilies* confess to be *idolatrous* and *anti-christian*.' 'Not only a HARLOT, as the Scripture calleth her, but also a foul, filthy, old withered Harlot ; the foulest and filthiest that ever was seen. And that, as it at present is, and hath been for nine hundred years, it is so far from the TRUE CHURCH, that nothing can be *more*.' And these Homilies every English Clergyman subscribes with his own hand, that they 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine,' etc."

He said—"If Bishops be necessary in America to suspend vicious Clergymen, why do not they do it at home?" A seat had been purchased in the Jerseys for the residence of the coming Bishop, at an expense of £600, and some £5,000 fund had already been subscribed for his support. Dr. Chauncey deprecates the "pomp and circumstance" of the Episcopal office, and quotes Bishop Burnet, who wrote strongly against it ; also Eusebius, "that the Bishop shall have a little dwelling-house near the Church ; that he shall have but coarse household-stuff and diet, and seek his reputation only by sound doctrine and a good life."

Dr. Chauncey urged strongly, that instead of spending money, to maintain the style and glory of Bishops, they should send Missionaries to the Indians, and Ministers to the neglected whites, who, as in North Carolina, were strangely neglectful of the ordinances of religion.

The Churchmen said, "We can not perceive why the people of New England might not as safely *breathe the same air with a Bishop* as their Brethren in Old England do. However, we are unwilling to disquiet any of them by importing and settling amongst them a creature which

¹ Dissent. Gent's. Answer.

it seems some of them account to be so noxious. Only we hope that his occasionally traveling *through the country* can not *infect* it very dangerously." This was sharp and well put. Dr. Mayhew replied sagaciously, "People are not usually deprived of their liberties all at once, but gradually—by one encroachment after another, as it is found they are disposed to bear them." "And how long would they continue to be such inoffensive harmless creatures as this gentleman supposes? only diffusing blessings around them, on all manner of people *susceptible of such holy impressions*, as are made by their *hands*, on the good people of England? Has this order of men been remarkable for a quiet, inoffensive behavior? Have they usually been free from ambitious views and projects?—from intriguing with princes, and joining them in carrying on schemes of oppression?"

Dr. Chauncey said, "And some of the most solid, judicious, and wise, among them (the Episcopalians), have freely expressed their disapprobation of the thing, considering the state and condition of the Colonies."¹

Then the dread of Taxation for the support of the Church, rose like a vision of Job, vast and dim before them. The advocates of Episcopacy had not always the skill or power to keep this out of sight—it would rise. Dr. Chandler denies that taxes would be laid; but says strangely: "But should a general tax be laid upon the *Country*, and thereby a sufficient sum be raised, I believe such a tax would not amount to four pence on one hundred pounds. And this would be no mighty hardship upon the COUNTRY." This was a very plain supposition; and the friends of Independence said at once,

"You see here, fellow-countrymen, what you have to expect from the advocates of Episcopacy: first, the Bishops, then an insignificant tax to support them, and then what, but all the abuses and injustice from which our fathers fled?"

¹ Page 186.

Dr. Chandler claimed, that there were a million persons professing the Episcopal faith, in the whole Colonies. To this, Dr. Chauncey replied, that in New England there were but forty Churches, and in all the Colonies north of Maryland, not over twenty-six thousand members.

That the temper of the English Bishops was with the Aristocratic party in England, and the Tories in the Colonies, was shown by their voting in a body against the Repeal of the Stamp-tax;¹ and this was well known in New England; and the people were determined to resist their becoming a State burden upon them.

That this fear of Bishops did not spring altogether from the Puritanical doctrine of New England, is evident, from the opposition which was made to the project in Virginia. In 1771, the old English cry of "No Bishops, no King," was reversed there, and "no King, then no Bishops," was heard. The Episcopal Clergy refused to join in a petition for a Bishop to be sent over (only twelve, of nigh one hundred of their ministers, favoring it); and the House of Burgesses resolved unanimously in favor of opposing "the pernicious project, for introducing an American Bishop," and appointed Mr. Bland, and Richard Henry Lee, to express this sentiment.²

From what has been said, the reader will not fail to observe, that the support of the Episcopal Church, as a "Voluntary System," was not then entertained, and that the fierce and wide-spread opposition to Bishops, was in a great degree, owing to well-grounded fears of a Church Establishment. That fear is happily over, and now the Ministers of the "Establishment" in Canada, point across the lake to the many and flourishing Episcopal Churches in New York, to awaken the zeal, and stimulate the efforts of their own people.

The Episcopalians established a Church at Cambridge

¹ Walsh, p. 193. Godwin's History.

² Anderson's History of Colonial Church, vol. iii., p. 153.

Episcopacy, which had been sustained by law in Virginia, was placed on

(about 1760), and a severe discourse was delivered upon the Puritans ; which was answered by Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston, and replied to by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself.¹ The controversy was warmly carried on, even into the war of the Revolution. It began now to be plain, that the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel" of the English Church, looked favorably upon the plans of the English Ministry, for Taxing the Colonies. The Bishop of Llandaff, in his sermon before the Society (February 20, 1767), said : "We may assure ourselves, that this benefit will flow to the Church from our present most gracious sovereign, whenever public wisdom, public care, public justice, and piety advise the measure."

The "Society" in New England had expended great sums, and spared no pains to introduce and establish her ministers in New England ; for in 1767 they had sent into Massachusetts and Connecticut twenty-three clergymen. The danger of their success was so great, that Dr. Chauncey said, indeed "We are in principle against *all* civil establishments of religion ; and as we do not desire any establishment in support of our own religious sentiments or practice, we can not reasonably be blamed if we are not disposed to encourage one in favor of the Episcopal colonists."

The orthodox ministers now came rapidly to see, with open eyes, what, since Roger Williams's day, they had been slow to see, that it was altogether wrong to establish religion by law, and compel people to support a church they did not approve of ; and the Association of Ministers of Connecticut published a letter of thanks to Dr. Chauncey

the same footing as other religions, in 1786 ; and a law passed then declared religious opinion and worship free.—*Backus*.

An amendment to the Constitution of the United States, dated September 23, 1789, says : "Congress shall make no law establishing articles of faith, or a mode of worship, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition to the Government for a redress of grievances."

¹ Backus.

in 1768,¹ for his able presentation of their principles and positions.

There is no reason to doubt that the fears of the introduction of Bishops, and a Church Establishment sustained by tythes and taxes, had a powerful influence in preparing the minds of the people of New England for an extreme resistance to the overbearing plans of the English Ministry, which were about to be tried. We shall see how every pulpit thundered against them ; how meek and timid clergymen led out their people with arms in their hands ; and we may well believe that the resistance of the clergy to the plans of the Bishops did much to ensure a successful resistance to the plans of the Ministry.

CHRISTMAS
DAY.

In connection with Episcopacy, we may briefly refer to Christmas. If it proposed to introduce Bishops, it also did institute this most charming of festivals into New England ; but until within the last twenty years it was a dull day, and observed by few, except the members of that Church ; now, however, it is generally accepted, and welcomed by most in that hard-working land as a day of joy and rest ; and the “ Merry Christmas—merry Christmas” greeting, goes from mouth to mouth. To those inclined to despair of improvement, this will be welcome news ; and when they know that even the Jews close their shops on that day ; that some Quakers believe in fighting for liberty ; and that one Archbishop of the Holy Catholic Church claims that church as the first to favor religious liberty, they will take courage. Christmas is especially the child’s festival, and wherever it is known and observed, it is welcomed as a day when children are to be made happy. This of itself should lead to its preservation, for its pleasures are healthful, and its associations beyond price. Most New England children, whether educated in Episcopacy or out of it, remember with delight the preparation for Christmas ; how through the snow they went out for evergreens, and brought back loads

¹ Backus.

of "Christmas," with which to dress and ornament the little country church ; how, evening after evening, the girls and boys, with a few matrons, collected together to wind these into wreaths, and fashion them into stars and mottoes ; and that many a love matter had its small beginning at such times. And when the church was trimmed, and "Christmas Eve" came, the eyes of every child sparkled as through each pane of the windows of the little church the little candles shot out streams of bright light over the glittering snow. And when in the singers' gallery, half hidden among the trees, the blushing country maidens stood with wreaths on their heads, and sung out that beautiful hymn, beginning

"While shepherds kept their flocks by night,"

then the growing men below saw angels there, whom they never forgot ; and in the fulness of time they returned, and bore away one of them, and together were translated, not as Enoch was, but to a kind of heaven here below.

We have almost forgotten the struggles about the Bishops, but have not forgotten Christmas.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONDITION AND WEALTH OF THE PEOPLE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

THE ENGLISH COLONIAL SYSTEM—CAPITAL—LABOR—INHERITANCE—COD-FISHERIES—WHALE-FISHERIES—MANUFACTURES—PAPER—SHIPS—WEST-INDIAN TRADE, RUM, DRINKING—EXPORTS—PAPER MONEY—TAXES—FIRST ISSUES OF “BILLS OF CREDIT”—THE “LAND-BANK” AND “SILVER-SCHEME”—LEGAL TENDER—JEALOUSY OF ENGLAND—THE NAVIGATION ACT—CHILD’S DISCOURSE ON TRADE—THE BOARD OF TRADE—EXPORTS FORBIDDEN—THE SUGAR ACT—NEW ENGLAND RUM—IRON MILLS FORBIDDEN—LAWS AGAINST LABOR—TAXES—NOT ALL FOOLS—POPULATION.

THE Colonial System of England is not new. It has long been her policy to foster Colonies and to promote their strength and power of production. She has watched them, and sometimes defended them; she has been to them like a father to a son, and they have worked together, and whatever the son produced, that belonged to the father; so the surplus wealth of the Colonies has been claimed by England, and has been taken in the shape of taxes, in the payment of colonial officers appointed from the ruling families of England, and in commerce. There is this difference between England and the Father—that the son becomes of age and emancipates himself, while in the eyes of England the Colony is always a working Child, and becomes a Man by Revolution, if at all. The selfishness of man shows itself in all countries, and among the Aristocracy in England as elsewhere; but it must be admitted that they display great skill and talent, in so long maintaining their position. While their vices have not been greater than those of the ruling classes of other countries, their talent has been much superior.

Since an early day, the Mercantile and Money-getting

Class of England has acted in concert with the Aristocratic or Land-owning Class, and together they have divided the spoil. Below them, the great Laboring Class, whether at home or in the Colonies, has been kept poor by taxes and tariffs. In other words, the capital of England has ruled England, and has used labor for its own ends, not for the benefit of the laborer. Capital has made the laws of England, and enforced them. Whenever starvation and desperation have risen from their lair of misery, "Law and Order" have been appealed to, to force them down again. And the story has been everywhere the same, whether in Asia, Africa, Europe—or now in America: that is, the rights of man to labor, and enjoy the fruits of his labor, have been sacrificed, in order that the rich might grow richer, and that a few might order the destinies of many. Rich and conservative men, forgetting these centuries of bitter teaching, forgetting the eternal maxims of wisdom—"That neither gold nor learning secure wisdom and virtue"—"That the best government is that which governs least"—still urge that men can not govern themselves, but must forever be taxed and governed by the rich, and cultivated, and conservative class. Such has been and still is the doctrine preached and practiced in England; yet in the face of all obstacles, and through all revolution, and bloodshed, and discussion, and debate—Man, the Individual, has slowly, almost imperceptibly, forced the Ruling Class to give way; and in England, as elsewhere, he is moving toward the great Future of Self-government, and the incarnation of the sublime doctrine, "That labor must control its own production," in harmony with that higher law enunciated on the heights of Calvary eighteen hundred years ago—"Do to others as you would have them do to you." Labor and Humanity will certainly overcome the old monsters, Force and Superstition; and with the growth of the new State, based upon Liberty, will arise the new Church, founded upon Truth, when every man's heart

will contain the words of God, and his life in State and Church will be in harmony.

We are now approaching a period in the history of the Colonies, when the hand of the parent is about to be laid upon the labor and liberties of the child, which has worked up, through a hundred and fifty years, toward manhood. At this point we need to review briefly the condition of the people of New England, as shown in their industry and resources. This will serve to make clear the plans of the Ministry, and to explain the opposition which they encountered.

There was no aristocratic class in New England, whose business it was to spend the money earned by other men. The whole people worked, and of course the larger part were farmers, who had won their lands from the wilderness, with the axe and the musket. These farms were never large, and they were cultivated with the stalwart arms of the owner and his sons. Even from the thin lands of New England there was a surplus of food produced, which went to support the fleets of seamen engaged in the fisheries. "The American Traveller,"¹ mentions one fact, which ought always to be remembered—that "the people of New England owe that Independency of Individuals, in which the very Essence of true Liberty exists, and which is the best protection of it, to a particular Law of Inheritance, by which the possessions of the Father are divided equally among all his children ; so that they are kept in that happy Mediocrity" which insures improvement. This property did not accumulate in few hands, and the country was not cursed with large fortunes, which induce Luxury and entail poverty.

Next to Farming, the Fisheries produced the most wealth. All along the Banks of Cape Cod, and northward to Newfoundland, great quantities of fish were taken. The produce of the Cod fisheries alone, from 1765 to 1775, amounted an-

COD AND
WHALE
FISHERIES.

¹ London, 1770.

nually to some \$351,300, and employed some six hundred and sixty-five vessels, and over four thousand seamen.¹

The whale fishery, which was begun at the island of Nantucket in 1690, had increased in 1770, so that one hundred and twenty sail were engaged in it, and the produce amounted to more than half a million of dollars annually. These ships found their best harvest then in the waters around the West Indies, and on the coasts of Brazil and Guinea. They also sailed among the icebergs of Greenland, and penetrated the Pacific ocean.

As early as 1731, PAPER was also made in Massachusetts to the amount of £200 yearly.

Many SHIPS were built for the French and Spaniards, who paid for them in "Rum, Molasses, Wines, and Silks." There were also some Sugar-bakeries, and some Rum-stills established.

New Hampshire exported Lumber and Fish, and Connecticut exported Lumber and Horses to the West Indies. Rhode Island seems to have then had no manufactures, except Iron, "not a fourth part enough for their own use." Hats were also manufactured and exported.

The Colonies were now prosperous, and increasing rapidly in production and trade. George Whitefield, who itinerated through New England, between 1740 and 1750, says (Journal) :

"Never, surely, was a Place so well settled in so short a time. The towns all through Connecticut and Eastward in the Province of Massachusetts are large, well-peopled, and exceedingly pleasant to travel through. Every five miles you have a Meeting-house."

Before the year 1739, a large and active trade had grown between New England and the English and Spanish West Indies. In this trade, Rum was a leading article, which had come to be considered a necessary of life. "Before the late War" (the Revolution), says Dr. Tenny,² "the taverns of Exeter were

THE WEST
INDIA TRADE.

¹ Pitkin, Statistics.

² Description of Exeter, M. H. C., vol. iv.

every night thronged with people, who seldom all retired sober." Rum stood on every sideboard, and was drunk by all classes—from the minister to the logger; yet, in spite of its pernicious influence, in the free air of New England the people grew rich.

In 1750, the English West India Islands produced 4,565,000 gallons yearly, which somebody was expected to drink. In the Reports made to the Lords of Trade in England, rum is thus spoken of:

"Rum is a standing article in the Indian trade (of New England), and the common drink of all the

"1. Laborers,

"2. Timber men,

"3. Mast men,

"4. Loggers, and

"5. Fishermen in the Province (Mass).

"These men could not endure the hardships of their employments, nor the rigors of the seasons, without it," they then thought.

"Rum is the merchandise principally made use of to procure—

"1. Corn and

"2. Pork for

"1. Their fishermen and

"2. Other navigation."¹

Rum was also indispensable for a successful and profitable slave-trade.

"The rum carried from Massachusetts Bay (and the other northern colonies) to the coast of Guinea, is exchanged for gold and slaves. The gold is sent to London, the slaves to the colonies." Of the slave-trade, we have already spoken.

In 1794, there were upward of thirty distill houses in Boston, for the manufacture of New England Rum. But there seems, at an early day, to have been a suspicion, amounting to certainty with some, that although they

¹ Minot's History of Massachusetts, vol. i., p. 156.

increased the revenue, they impoverished the State. Dr. Eliot, in his "Election" Sermon [1765], quotes from the Rev. Stephen Hales, of England, showing that the use of spirituous liquors diminished the Christenings; and that, as its use became common, "the children born come into the world with bad constitutions, and die, in prodigious numbers, under five years old."

Dr. Chauncey, in his sermon about Earthquakes [Boston, 1755], says: "How general is the practice of drinking to excess? What large quantities of spirituous liquors are there consumed in this land, and in this town? Do not many of our people spend too much of their time, and too much of their substance, in taverns? Are there none of them that walk in rioting and drunkenness, in addition to chambering and wantonness? Have we never seen drunkards reeling in the streets as we passed along?"

Among the exports from New England, a writer enumerates (1770):

EXPORTS FROM
N. ENGLAND.

Codfish, dried, 10,000 tons, at £10,	£100,000
Masts, Boards, Staves, etc.,	45,000
Ships, about 70 sail, at £700,	49,000
Pickled Mackerel and Shads, 8,000 bbls.,	8,000
Whale and Cod Oil, 7,000 tons—£15,	105,000
Whalebone, 28 tons—£300	8,400
Turpentine, Tar, etc., 1,500 bbls.,	600
Horses and Live Stock,	12,000
Potash, 8,000 bbls.,	20,000
Pickled Beef and Pork, 9,000 bbls.,	13,000
Bees' Wax, and other Articles,	9,000
	<hr/>
	£370,500

And he mentions that the amount of exports, previous to the beginning of the troubles with England, was as high as £550,000 per annum.¹

This agrees with estimates made by others:

¹ "The American Traveller, containing Obsevation, etc. By an old and experienced Trader. Printed (London) in the year M.DCC.LXX."

The value of Exports from the New England Colonies, for the year 1769, is given as £550,089 19s. 2d.
Of the Imports, 564,034 3s. 8d.¹

And the whole trade between Great Britain and the American Colonies:
Exported from the Colonies, £3,924,606
Imported from England, 3,370,900

In the absence of Commerce, Gold and Silver
PAPER MONEY. were inconveniently scarce in New England ;
and as early as 1635, it was ordered by the Court in Massachusetts, that musket bullets should pass in place of farthings, but that no man should be obliged to take more than twelve at one time. Indian corn passed current, at 6s. the bushel, and Beaver at 10s. the pound. In 1640, it was provided that goods should be taken for debts at a valuation made by three disinterested men.³ This was to secure the debtor against forced sales for money. Taxes were paid in kind, and the Connecticut Treasurer was obliged at times to seek a market for his beef and pork at Boston. In 1687, the Taxes of Hingham were paid in milk-pails. These inconveniences became so great, that in 1652, a mint was established, and John Hill, a Boston Merchant, was appointed Master, which continued till the times of Andros.

The want of Tools in a new Colony, is always great ; and perhaps nothing was more felt in the early days of New England, than this absence of money, one chief instrument, by means of which trade is carried on. Men came slowly to learn the fact, that a dollar of gold and silver represents so much labor ; just as a bushel of wheat, or a ton of iron does, and that its value is in the labor it has cost to get it, while its use is to pay the differences growing out of barter or the buying and selling of goods. Men can live without money, and can barter one thing for another ; but whenever there is a greater value to one thing than to another, the difference must be paid, and it

¹ Macpherson's Annals, vol. iii. Pitkin's Statistics of U. S.

² Holmes's Annals.

³ Felt's Massachusetts Currency, 1839.

is not paid if a *promise* to pay only is given. It matters not whether this promise to pay be given by an individual, by a bank, or by the State ; that “promise” has little value unless it can at once be exchanged for property, and gold and silver are the only property that are at once available for the purpose. The people felt the want of a currency in many ways, and at times were clamorous for the issue of paper money, many supposing that it would answer the purposes of trade just as well as gold and silver, and that if they could only have enough of it, trade would prosper, and everybody would grow rich. It need not be forgotten that wealth consists of the produce of the earth, developed by labor ; and that though the earth were heaped with bank bills, they would not be wealth.

As early as 1690, the Colony of Massachusetts began to issue “Bills of Credit” (£7,000), to pay the expenses of the French wars, which were to be redeemed at a future time, and to be received in payment of taxes ; this was simply postponing the day of payment, or forcing it rather upon those who were to come after them.

In 1705, Connecticut was so much exhausted with wars, and expenses in England to protect her Charter against Governor Dudley and Lord Cornbury, that she was obliged to collect the taxes in beef, pork, and other commodities ; for the currency was drained away. In 1709, it became necessary to pay her troops on their return from the unsuccessful attack upon Canada ; and the Assembly, by special Act, authorized the issue of £8,000 in paper money, of the denomination of two shillings and upward ; this was increased, so that in 1713, there was issued £20,000 in Connecticut, and £40,000 in Massachusetts.

The effect of so much paper money, was to drive all gold and silver out of circulation, to raise the nominal prices of all commodities, and to increase the rate of exchange on England. Great confusion and perplexity ensued, and the community was divided in opinion—the most being urgent for the issue of more paper money. For this

purpose, a project was started for a Land-Bank, in Massachusetts, the plan of which was to issue bills upon the pledge of lands. All who were in difficulty, advocated this, because they hoped that, in the present case, they might shift their burdens onto some one else. It was then resisted, and another plan was devised and carried out [1714], namely, the issuing of £50,000 of bills of credit, by the Government, to be loaned to individuals at 5 per cent. interest, to be secured by estates, and to be repaid, one fifth part yearly. This quieted the Land-Bank party for a while.

But the habit of issuing bills of credit continued, and was very seductive.

In 1721, Rhode Island issued £40,000 in paper money, to be loaned to the inhabitants.

In 1717, New Hampshire issued £15,000, paper money.

In 1733, Connecticut issued £20,000 on the loan system for the first time.

Rhode Island made another issue of £100,000.

Belcher had been instructed, from England, to draw in the paper money, before the end of the year 1741. This caused a general dread lest they should be left without any money, and in the year 1740, led to two Schemes: the Land-Bank project, and a private Company, "The Silver Scheme." Though many resisted this last, it went into operation; but the evils to result from it were so apparent, that those who opposed it, obtained an order from Parliament for its suppression. One of the effects of this scheme is thus shown: a widow who had £3 a year settled on her in place of her dower, had been able to buy with it, "2 cords of wood, 4 bushels of corn, 1 of rye, 1 of malt, 50 pounds of pork, and 60 pounds of beef." By the new issue, her dower became worth but seventeen shillings and three pence.

At this time [1741], there was in New England a confusion of currencies like to the tongues of Babel. In Boston, there were as follows: Public bills of four Provinces,

at 29s. for an ounce of silver ; New Tenor of Massachusetts, at 6s. 8d., but passing at 9s. 8d. for the silver ounce ; Connecticut New Tenor, at 8s. ; Rhode Island New Tenor, at 6s. 9d. ; £110,000 of merchants' notes issued in 1733 ; £120,000 of merchants' notes, issued in 1740 ; both of which were redeemable in silver. The Land-Bank Bills were payable in twenty years, but then only in goods.

The Land-Bank party insisted that they would carry out their plan in spite of all acts of Parliament, Governors, etc. ; and party spirit ran to the greatest extremes. Threats were made, and riots were anticipated ; until, finally, Governor Belcher apprehended some of the most active movers in it.

At last, in 1749, the Massachusetts House of Representatives agreed that silver, at 6s. 8d. the ounce, or dollars, at 6s. each, should only be lawful money of the Province, and that contracts should be made in them ; and that the bills of Government outstanding, amounting to £2,200,000, should be redeemed by the reimbursement of moneys from England, for the taking of Cape Breton (£183,000), and a tax (£70,000) ; which was done—the bills being paid for at their silver value, which was eleven of paper to one of silver.¹

Many expected, at the destruction of the paper currency, a great shock to credit and prosperity ; but it did not result so ; for it seems simple enough now, that one silver shilling would do the work of eleven paper shillings, and do it a great deal better. Connecticut and Rhode Island, who refused to conform their standard to silver, suffered by it, and justly.

An Act of Parliament, in 1751, prohibited the Governor from consenting to the issue of paper money ; yet the emergency seemed to justify a resort to it in New Hampshire ; and the soldiers, who were promised £13 10s. per month currency, in consequence of its depreciation before the year ended, were paid £15 ; in 1756, £18 ; in 1757,

¹ Hutchinson's History, vol. ii., p. 436.

£25 ; till at last, in 1758, they were paid in real money, at the rate of twenty-seven shillings sterling ; and sterling money was made the standard there for all contracts.¹

After the long and expensive French wars, the Colonies were exceedingly reduced in wealth, for they received from England but a small proportion of what they had spent. Notwithstanding this, it was seriously debated in Parliament during the negotiations with France in 1763, whether Canada should not be again restored to the French ; and one principal reason urged was, that it would keep the Colonies in check, and prevent them from growing strong enough to shake off the incubus of England.²

To indicate the sacrifices made by the people of New England to carry on these wars, it may be well to notice, that one of the Boston Assessors stated to Dr. Chauncey that the taxes on a £60 personal income were more than one half of it ; and upon real estate in the proportion of £72 on £200. In addition to which, there was a poll-tax of 19 shillings, lawful money.³

It is certain that a large part of these expenses were caused by the wanton doings of men in England ; and that the New Englanders were too loyal. The people would have been spared the war with the Eastern Indians (1689), but for the proceedings of Andros ; and nearly all the wars which devastated New England for half a century grew out of the struggles for dominion between England and France.

In the war of 1755, the Colonists furnished 25,000 troops, and fitted out 400 privateers. David Hartley, one of the first Statesmen in Parliament, said in his speech (1775), " In the war of 1756, the Americans turned the

¹ Belknap's N. H., vol. ii., p. 237.

² Walsh's Appeal, p. 134.

³ A Discourse on the Repeal of the Stamp Act. By Charles Chauncey, D. D., Boston, July 24, 1766. " As cold water to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country."—Proverbs xxv. 25.

success of the war at both ends of the line. They took Louisbourg from the French single-handed. They conquered Acadia for us in the last century, and we then gave it up. Again in Queen Anne's war, they conquered Nova Scotia. Whenever Great Britain has declared war, they have taken her part."

An English writer of that day said, "The New England Colonies, my Lord, take the lead in all military matters. The first planters encountered innumerable difficulties, and were long engaged in repeated wars with the Indian natives. Their descendants retain the martial prowess and spirit of their Ancestors ; and for wisdom, loyalty, and an enterprising genius, are a people of renown."¹ It is also certain that the New Englanders were proud of their Ancestry, and rejoiced in the greatness of England, till endurance ceased to be a virtue.

Governor Pownall said (1765), "They (the Colonists) would sacrifice their dearest interests for the honor and prosperity of their mother country." "They have no other idea of this country than their home." "No people," said Franklin, "were ever known more truly loyal." But with characteristic pride and hardness, the provincials were despised, impoverished, and ill-treated. General Braddock spoke of his only *good* officer, as "one Major Washington," and refused to listen to any of his suggestions. The English officers always treated the ill-dressed Yankee troops and officers with undisguised contempt ; and in their reports of military affairs, no credit was given to them. The Mutiny Bill of 1754 subjected the New England soldiers to the orders and barbarous punishments of English officers ; and, the result was, they refused to volunteer or to fight under the incompetent leaders sent from England.

But the jealousy of the English merchants and manufacturers also grew with the growth of New England.

¹ "A Review of the Military Operations in North America," etc. London, 1757.

The English "Navigation Act" of 1660 prohibited the importation of merchandise into the colonies except in English ships ; and in 1663 it was made more stringent, so that the colonial merchants were forced to buy every article of European production in England. This was intended to benefit the English merchants alone.

In 1672, the liberty of trade with the Southern plantations was taken away, and the whole of the purchases and sales of the colonies were concentrated in England ; thus the producers were injured, and only the English merchants were made richer. In 1679, the Massachusetts colony declared the Navigation Acts an invasion of their rights, they not being represented in Parliament.

The excuse made, that the colonies were founded at the cost of the Mother Country, who therefore claimed the right to tax them, was so great an absurdity, that no one but a politician or statesman could possibly have ventured to make it. Nor did England ever protect them ; that they did, and had done, themselves.

The British merchants and manufacturers, in 1680 appear to have shown their fears of the New England colonies. Sir Joshua Child said, in his discourse on trade, "I am now to write of a people whose frugality, industry, and temperance, and the happiness of whose laws and institutions, promise them long life, with a wonderful increase of people, riches, and power," etc. And he proceeds to urge reasons against their being allowed to increase in trade and manufactures.¹

Even in the year 1696 a pamphlet, advocating the taxing the American colonies, had appeared in England;² and we can now only wonder that the idea was so long expressed in words before it was attempted in practice.

Sir Joshua Child said again, "Of all the American plantations, his Majesty has none so apt for the building of shipping as New England, nor any comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of

¹ Pitkin's Stat. U. S.

² Gordon, vol. i., p. 101.

the natural industry of the people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries ; and, in my poor opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and in prospect more dangerous, to any mother kingdom, than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations, or provinces."

As early as 1731, the Board of Trade, which had been established in the close of the last century (1696) to superintend colonial affairs, made a report respecting the manufactures of the colonies, in which they say, that in Massachusetts some articles were being made which interfered with the profits of the English manufacturers.¹

It seemed that then there were some manufactures in nearly all the colonies, of woolen and linen cloths, but mostly for the uses of their own families ; and that the price of labor being dearer there than in England, they could not essentially compete with the English manufacturer. In Massachusetts there were also some hat makers, and some iron was produced. The Company of Hatters in London complained of the "great quantities" of hats exported from Massachusetts to "Spain, Portugal, and our West Indies," and the export was forbidden in 1732.

In 1733 an act was passed in Parliament, which came to be known in the Colonies as the MOLASSES OR SUGAR ACT. "Molasses or Sugar Act"—which laid a tax of 12c. per gallon on imported molasses, and 18c. per gallon on French and Dutch rum. There had grown up in New England, and particularly in Newport, which was largely engaged in the Slave-trade, a manufactory of Rum, which operated against the West India manufacturers of this article, and this tax on molasses—from which the rum was made—was intended to be one of Prohibition. Such it proved, but at once there grew up a brisk and large contraband trade.

This act was modified in 1764 : the duty on molasses being reduced, but duties were laid on other goods, such

¹ Pitkin's Statistics of U. S. Macpherson's Annals.

as wines and India goods—which caused a great debate in Massachusetts, but was finally submitted to.¹

The Home Government grew more jealous, and sent over word (1753) to Governor Shirley, to discourage new towns. for the Representatives were becoming too numerous :² and in 1755 Mr. Bollan, the Massachusetts Agent in England wrote that it was proposed there to govern the Colonies like Ireland, and make them pay for the support of troops, to be sent over to do it.³

These things had a bad look for New England ; for the Governors and the office-holders, and office-seekers, and their friends, the “Prerogative men,” were generally willing tools of the managers in England. Sagacious men in the Colonies began to scent danger, and to discuss with one another probable events ; and the active people snapped their fingers at Navigation Laws, and engaged largely in smuggling. They said—we will make our own laws, or we will break those made by other people.

In 1750, Parliament forbad more iron mills to be built in New England, and the proposition to destroy those already built was lost only by a small majority.

The Colonies were to be kept dependent by being kept poor ; that was becoming more clear.

Jealousy, and irritation, and hatred, grew out of these efforts to repress the trade and industry of the New England people, long before they produced a violent resistance.

The forests were tabooed—the best pine trees were marked with the broad arrow of the Commissioner, for the use of the English Government ; Waterfalls were forbidden—they must not turn New England’s mills ; and the ocean was shut up—New England’s ships must ask England where to sail.

Before 1775, there were, twenty-nine laws made in Great Britain, which hampered LABOR in the Colonies,

¹ Minot’s History. Gordon, vol. i.

² Hutchinson, vol. iii.

³ M. H. Coll., vol. vi.

and the result was bitterness. Men saw they were to be sacrificed, that English merchants might grow rich.¹

But this aristocratic and money power in England, was bent upon stealing away from the Colonies their surplus production, in the shape of TAXES ; which is the disguise everywhere assumed to keep a people poor, and a ruling class rich. The year for the passage of the Stamp tax was at hand ; and the managers in England thought the Colonists only needed to see the whip, to submit like dogs.

Yet there were some wise men in England then ; and there were some brave ones in New England ; how many no one could tell.

“ An immense wealth,” said Gee (On the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain), “ has accrued to us from the labor and industry of those people that have settled in our colonies, from timber, from ships, from oil, and fish produced there.”

They consumed, also, one sixth part of the woolen manufactures of Great Britain, and a large share of linen, cotton, iron, and other goods ; for which they paid well. And Lord Chatham stated boldly and distinctly, that England then realized, from the American trade, a profit of two millions annually.

Lord Chatham said, also (1775), “ The Americans are a wise, industrious, and prudent people. They see us immersed in luxury, dissipation, venality, and corruption ; they perceive to what purposes their contributions would be applied—to nothing but the extinction of public and private virtue there, as has already been the case here.”²

The people of New England then numbered over half a million souls, distributed as follows :

¹ Sabine's American Loyalists. Boston, 1847.

² In December, 1774, the colonies owed England £6,000,000, and although a separation was then inevitable, £4,000,000 of it was paid within a year.—Walsh's Appeal.

New Hampshire,	.	.	.	.	.	.	102,000
Massachusetts,	.	.	.	.	.	.	352,000
Rhode Island,	.	.	.	.	.	.	58,000
Connecticut,	.	.	.	.	.	.	202,000
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	.	714,000 ¹

What could they, and what would they do? for it was evident that matters were driving on toward a dissolution, and re-formation.

They were mostly hardy farmers, spread over the whole of New England, except in the northern parts of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont—none very rich, and few very poor. They were imbued with a stern, religious faith, indifferent to luxury; were well educated by Churches, and Schools, and Legislatures. They had been so long away from the atmosphere of a court, that they had grown strong in the air of Liberty, and were sure of their capacities for self-government. They had struggled first with the hard soil and climate; then with the scattered tribes of Indians; and then in the wars with the French, through nigh half a century, they had become accustomed to arms, and to the defense of their homes. Such a people it would be hard to subdue.

They were never a submissive and law-abiding people, unless they themselves made the laws. When Andros attempted to carry on a government on the European plan, and to make laws to suit himself (1689), the people took advantage of the first opportunity, and rushed in a mass against him and his government, and tumbled them in the dust. In 1747, when Commodore Knowles seized some of the men of Boston, and “impressed” them as seamen for his English ships, the common people rose in their strength, and seized his boats, and some of his officers. They would listen to no soft words from the Governor, and the “Property Men” were not able to pacify them, till their townsmen were released: and their courage and determination then carried the day.²

¹ Rogers's North America. London, 1765. Pitkin's Statistics.

² Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 430.

In 1757, Lord Loudoun attempted to quarter his English soldiers upon the inhabitants in the New England colonies. They firmly refused to receive them ; and the matter was finally composed with fine speeches ; but the people carried their point.¹

For nigh a century after the loss of their first charter, a constant quarrel was going on in Massachusetts between the Crown Governors and the people in their Assemblies—the Governors demanding the payment of a fixed salary, and the Assemblies steadily refusing it. They would yearly vote such a sum for the uses of the Governor, as they thought proper, and would never allow that it was granted as a right, but only as a favor.

There were, of course, some “Prerogative Men” in New England, as there are everywhere, who believed that the people should be governed by a governing Class in England. They were usually among the richer and better sort of people, who had no faith in the integrity, or strength, or honor, of the masses ; but their numbers in New England were never large. These are presented hereafter under the title of Tories.

¹ Minot, vol. ii.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STAMP-TAX.

WALPOLE—GEORGE III.—GOVERNOR BERNARD—NAVIGATION LAWS—SMUGGLING—"WRITS OF ASSISTANCE"—OTIS—HUTCHINSON—ADMIRALTY COURTS—THACHER—OTIS'S PAMPHLET—HENRY GRENVILLE—TAXES PROJECTED—FRANKLIN—AMERICAN SHEEP—JAMES OTIS THE GREAT INCENDIARY—SAMUEL ADAMS—PROTESTS AGAINST THE STAMP ACT—COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE—JOSEPH SHERWOOD—BARRE—THE "SONS OF LIBERTY"—STAMP ACT PASSED—RECEPTION IN AMERICA—500 MINISTERS—LAW OR JUSTICE—PATRICK HENRY—COURAGE—WHIGS, TORIES, AND SONS OF LIBERTY—STAMP-MASTERS ARRIVE—RIOT IN BOSTON—OLIVER'S HOUSE ATTACKED—HUTCHINSON'S HOUSE SACKED—OLIVER RESIGNS UNDER THE LIBERTY TREE—INGERSOLL STANDS OUT—IS FORCED TO RESIGN—THE POOR—"JOIN OR DIE"—"THE LORD'S ANOINTED"—ADAMS, BLAND, AND DULANY—THE CONGRESS—LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO STAMPS—DANGER OF DISUNION—THE REPEAL—PITT—THE NEWS IN AMERICA—DECEITFUL HOPES—THE REPEAL IN BOSTON.

BETWEEN the want of sense, and of principle, the world has been badly managed ; the laws of God have been set at defiance by weak inventions called laws ; and the lives and labors of men have been frightfully sacrificed, first to enforce wrong laws, and then to destroy them.

Men who seize the control of nations, or are intrusted with public affairs, greatly need two things—first, intellect—common sense ; second, conscience—moral sense. The aristocracy of England have had enough to enable them to rule England, but before the American Revolution there seems to have been a lack of both. They had not sense enough to let America alone, which was all she wanted, and they set about to devise ways of taxing her. Before that time taxation had been proposed to Sir Robert Walpole, who at least had sense, and he said,

"I will leave that to those who have more courage than I have."

The new King, George III., had come to the throne in the year 1760, and earlier in the same year, a new

Governor, Bernard, came to Boston. He took high ground in his speech to the Colonial Assembly, and dwelt upon "the blessings they derived from their *subjection* to Great Britain." The Council (a sort of Senate elected by the Assembly or General Court), in reply, spoke of their "*relation*" to Great Britain. The Assembly explained that this "subjection" was a connection founded on the principles of "filial obedience, protection, and justice."

At this time it was apparent that there was a strong disposition in England to bring about some scheme for taxing the colonies ; as Pitt had proposed in 1759, in a letter to Fauquier of Virginia. Some sagacious minds in New England were becoming alive to the gradual but steady encroachments of the English Government, but could see no chance for the colonies to withstand the Crown. The Navigation Laws (forbidding the importation of goods into the colonies, except through England), were sweeping in their effects ; but, for that reason, had been but loosely enforced, and an extensive system of smuggling prevailed, which had been connived at by the Custom-house officials. In 1760, directions came from the Ministry, that the taxes upon commerce should be rigidly enforced, and naval officers on the coast were commanded to become Excise officers, and to co-operate with the Custom-houses. The Governors had occasionally granted to the collectors "Writs of Search," in order to find and seize smuggled goods ; and in 1760, the collector of Salem demanded "Writs of Assistance" from the Courts for that purpose. Sewall was then Chief Justice ; a man of integrity and honor, whose sympathies were with the colony rather than the Crown. He postponed the case, but soon died. Governor Bernard had promised the honor of the bench, whenever there was a vacancy, to James Otis, an old lawyer of Barnstable ; but the times demanded a different and more pliable man, and Thomas Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor, was advanced to the post. He was a man of decided talent and tact, and favored the side of

the Crown (for he had always held office) ; before long he became a warm advocate of the prerogative of the Crown, in opposition to the claims of the people. The Customs taxes had been paid, and the Courts of Admiralty were acquiesced in ; but as they allowed no trial by jury, they were held by many to be entirely unconstitutional, and incompatible with the chartered rights of the colonies. In 1761, the question of the legality of the “ Writs of Assistance” was argued before Chief Justice Hutchinson, in which Gridley appeared for the Customs Collectors, and Oxenbridge Thacher and James Otis the younger, for the Merchants. Thacher was the leading lawyer in Boston, and Otis was a rising man. The case attracted much attention, for it touched the *pockets* of the merchants, as well as the *principles* of the people. The court was thronged, and when Otis made his speech, he carried the people away by his force, his fervour, and his eloquence. John Adams, then a young man, said, “ He was a flame of fire” that day. But Hutchinson decided against the merchants, and the people saw one of their most valued privileges (if not rights) taken from them under color of law ; they were defeated, but not subdued. In this condition of things, the Governor and Custom-house officers and informers made rich seizures, which aggravated the jealousies of the people.

Otis was chosen to the Assembly, and the next year was an active speaker, and the leader of the Assembly, while Hutchinson was the leader of the Council.

About this time public attention was called to the assumption of power by the Governor, in a pamphlet called—“ A Vindication of the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, &c. By James Otis, Esq., A member of said House : Boston, 1762.”

To this pamphlet John Adams attributed great influence. It grew out of the fitting out and paying the expenses of the Massachusetts sloop of war by Governor Bernard, without the authority of the House of Rep-

representatives. The positions which the House took were these :

“Justice to ourselves and to our constituents, oblige us to remonstrate against the method of making or increasing establishments by the Governor and Council.

“It is in effect taking from the House their most darling privilege, the right of originating all Taxes.

“It is, in short, annihilating one branch of the Legislature. And when once the Representatives of a people give up this privilege, the Government will very soon become arbitrary.

“No necessity, therefore, can be sufficient to justify a House of Representatives in giving up such a privilege ; *for it would be of very little consequence to the people whether they were subjects to George or Lewis, the King of Great Britain or the French King, if both were arbitrary, as both would be if both could levy Taxes without Parliament.*”

These italicised words were the cause of a disagreement between the Governor and the House, and were erased through the influence of Hutchinson.

When the peace of Paris was made, the debt of England had risen to £148,000,000 sterling, and Ministers were busy in providing revenues.¹

In 1763, Lord Bute succeeded Mr. Pitt in the Ministry, and Henry Grenville became First Lord of the Treasury. Then the plan for taxing the Colonies took definite shape.

The English officers in America, after the capture of Quebec, had been feasted and fêted by the Colonists, some of whom had made a foolish display of borrowed plate, both of silver and gold. They reported that the Colonists were a mine of wealth, which ought to be worked.

Burnaby, who published his travels in America, found pictures and many evidences of taste and wealth, and in a

¹ Ramsay, vol. i., p. 329.

journey of 1200 miles no man begged of him an alms : he thought a union of the Colonies impossible.¹

Huske, a member of Parliament, who had been born and educated in America (New Hampshire), said in his place, that the Colonies could pay a tax of £500,000 ; and ought to pay it.

This was sufficient to warrant Grenville's proceeding, and in 1763 he directed a bill to be prepared ; and on the 9th of March, 1764, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he gave notice in Parliament that the Stamp Act would be applied to America. This Act provided that a Tax should be paid upon all newspapers, every Law paper, all Ships' papers, Property transfers, College diplomas, and Marriage licences ; and heavy fines were imposed, which were to be collected in the summary and oppressive Admiralty Courts (without juries), controlled by office-holders, not chosen by the people. Troops might also be sent over to enforce obedience.

It was clear that if the Act was passed and enforced, all security to liberty and property would be at an end. Yet the people were divided in opinion as to what it was best to do, and the office-holders and prerogative men said, " submit, submit." Bernard and Hutchinson wrote to England ; and the former advised the Ministry to carry matters with a high hand, and to institute an order of Nobility in America, which should control and govern the people.

The Sugar Act was amended, and extended in April, 1764, but it created little interest, in view of the coming Stamp Act.

The agents of the Colonies in England wrote over about the project, and the bad news went swiftly from town to town, every where producing dismay and anger—or rousing a spirit of revolt. At that time, none dreamed of separation from the mother country, but all asked the

¹ Grahame's History.

Rights of free Englishmen, among which was that of taxing themselves.

Franklin, in his sarcastic way, ridiculed the exaggerated idea of Colonial wealth entertained in England. "The very tails," he said, "of the American sheep are so laden with wool, that each has a car or wagon on four little wheels, to keep it from trailing on the ground. Would they calk their ships, would they even litter their horses with wool, if it were not both plenty and cheap?" and so on.

JAMES OTIS was the "Great Incendiary of New England" in that day. In the early part of this year, this brilliant and inspired man had published his pamphlet, "The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved" [1764]. It was read, pondered, and approved.

He took such positions as these :

"I say this supreme, absolute power, is *originally* and *ultimately* in the people ; and they never did, in fact, *freely*, nor can they *rightfully*, make an absolute, unlimited renunciation of this Divine right."

"Whenever the administration, in any of these forms (Democracy, Aristocracy, or Monarchy), deviate from truth, justice, and equity, they verge toward tyranny, and are to be opposed ; and if they prove incorrigible, they will be *deposed* by the *people*, if the people are not rendered too abject."

He said : " Yet Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that 'tis hard to be conceived that an *Englishman*, much less a *Gentleman*, should plead for it."

He continued : " And could the choice of Independency be offered to the Colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute Slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter."

" When the Parliament shall think fit to allow the Colonists a representation in the House of Commons, the

equity of taxing the Colonies will be as clear, as their power is at present of doing it without, etc."

And he concludes, by urging the right of Representation, as a means of curing all differences.

He said : "If we are not Represented, we are slaves." He took the broad philosophic position of a Statesman and Patriot, that Government rests, not on Property, or Compact, or Force, but on the true and essential elements of Human Nature. This was supreme ; and the Right of Man to self-taxation, was superior to all Customs, Charters, and Constitutions.

While Lawyers and Placemen were pleading precedents and technicalities, he planted himself on the great rock of human Liberty, and the waves of Hell could not prevail against him.

"The Sentiments of a British American," by Oxenbridge Thacher, followed, and took high ground in favor of the Colonies.

SAMUEL
ADAMS.

At the Boston Town-meeting, in May, the public mind was alive on this subject. Samuel Adams (a lawyer of sterling character, but poor), being then forty-two years old, stood up in the presence of his fellow-townsmen, and spoke words which all felt. He protested in the clearest and most manly way, against the usurpation of the Ministry, and in a voice which rang in the meeting, he cried :

"We claim British rights ! not by Charter only, for what is that but a parchment ? But we claim them because we were *born with them* !" "If taxes can be laid upon our commerce, why not upon our lands ? why not upon every thing we possess ?" "And then shall we not be reduced from free subjects to tributary slaves ?" Such was the spirit which animated Samuel Adams. It was no hasty feeling, but a cherished conviction which moved him. He was, and he continued to be, one of the staunchest friends of Liberty. When Ministers wrote to Governor Bernard, "Why do you not bring him over to our

side?" he answered: "Nothing—neither honors nor offices, will buy him!" He was the true Noble-man.

The Boston delegates to the Assembly, were instructed to use every means to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act, or to procure its repeal in case it was passed.

The citizens were in earnest; and they agreed among themselves, that they would use no goods of British make; and shortly after, that they would eat no lamb, as that would hinder the growth of wool. The best and loveliest women of Massachusetts sacrificed British stuffs, and gloried in wearing only calico and linseys of home production. Let honor be given to American women, who never hesitated, but were ready for any sacrifice, and to do and dare in the cause which they, and their husbands, and fathers, had at heart.

The extravagance of the people in mourning expenses previous to the breaking out of the Revolution, had become great. All the connections felt obliged to dress in full suits of black; enameled rings were distributed, and gloves were given to the pall-bearers and clergymen. Escutcheons, with the family armorial bearings, were painted on silk, and placed over the coffin and over the door, and were sent to the friends of the deceased. One of the first steps was to break up this offensive and disagreeable custom, and in most of the New England Colonies the inhabitants agreed to import no more black goods from England while the attempt to lay illegal taxes should continue.

The Connecticut Legislature protested at once (May) against the Stamp tax, and sent decided instructions to their agent in London to insist firmly upon their Rights of Taxation, and of Trial by Jury. Ingersoll said in England, "The Stamp Act once passed, New England can be kept as poor as England may please."

Stephen Hopkins, Governor of Rhode Island, never hesitated, but declared the time had come when their liberties must be defended or lost. That kind of man

was valuable then in Rhode Island, and would be inestimable now.

Virginia passed a strong but temperate memorial against the passage of the Stamp Act.

That of New York was stronger ; so bold, that when it reached London, no one would present it in Parliament.¹

The Remonstrance of Massachusetts was feebler, it having been modified by Hutchinson and Bernard, and did not come up to the height of the people.

Rhode Island followed New York and Virginia.

Benjamin Franklin led public sentiment in Pennsylvania, where one of her members said, in the words of Philip de Commynes, "That no King nor Sovereign could lay a tax of one farthing upon the people without their consent, unless he does it by tyranny and violence."

In October, Franklin was sent as their agent to London. Otis, Cushing, Thacher, Gray, and Sheafe, were appointed in Boston to act as a Committee of Correspondence with the other Colonies.

When the news of these things reached England, and the agents made their remonstrances, Grenville and others mocked at the Colonies; and said, "Will the Colonies resist?"

That was not believed to be possible, even by Franklin ; but Joseph Sherwood, the Quaker agent of Rhode Island, said, "I will never consent to be taxed," and he never did.

None in England petitioned against the passage of the act, but some London merchants engaged in the American trade, and they were refused a hearing. In February, 1765, the Bill was brought up, and Townshend made an able speech in favor of its passage. In this speech he dwelt with some pathos upon the ingratitude of these Colonies, "nourished by the care of England, etc."

Then Colonel Isaac Barré, the friend of General Wolfe,

¹ Pitkin's U. S.

rose, and made a sarcastic and brilliant reply, in which he tossed back the pathetic phrase, "They nourished by *your* care?—by *your* care! The SONS OF LIBERTY have nobly taken up arms in your *defense*!"

The Stamp Act was resolved on, and there was but little opposition. One member said, "We have power to tax them, and we will tax them." And so they did, for the Bill passed the Commons by a vote of five to one, and the House of Lords unanimously. It became a law on the 22d day of March, 1765. It was only necessary now to appoint the Stamp Masters, and collect the Revenue; and no time was lost. Jared Ingersoll, the Connecticut agent, a cool, talented man, and a moderate Royalist, applied for the place for Connecticut, by the advice of Franklin,¹ and came home to perform the duties, which promised to be lucrative. Franklin thought the cause of the Colonies was crushed. He wrote, "The Sun of Liberty is set. You must light the lamps of industry and economy." He said to Ingersoll, "Go home, and tell your people to beget children as fast as they can," which advice they have since followed.

By the stamp duties, the value of a ream of bail bonds, was raised from £15 to £100 stg.² This was the beginning of that legal tyranny, which was intended to make England rich, and keep the Colonies in subjection and poor.

How was the news received? The news of the passage of the act came slowly across the Atlantic, and broke along the American shore, from Massachusetts to Carolina. Did the New England men then quail? Did they prove themselves cowards and poltroons bent upon money getting, as some then charged that they were; as some do now? We shall see.

At first the whole community was paralyzed and silent;

¹ Ingersoll wrote so to Governor Fitch. Hollister's History of Connecticut, vol. ii.

² Bradford's History.

men looked in one another's faces, to find ground for hope, and waited.

There were in New England at this time, over five hundred Congregational Ministers, among whom was to be found much of the talent and virtue of the community. They had had sharp and unkind controversies with the Church of England men,¹ and were aggravated by the urgency of the Bishop of Canterbury to carry out Bishop Berkley's plan of a Hierarchy in America. They knew that Wentworth, in New Hampshire, had orders to admit no schoolmaster without a license from a Bishop. They saw clearly enough that with the freedom of the State, would go that of the Church; and from every pulpit in New England, now went up a strong voice of prayer, that God would save them from this new "Satan," this "Sin of unrighteousness." Whitefield had cried out at Portsmouth, and he was about leaving America (1764).² "My heart bleeds for you; there is a deep plot against your civil and religious liberty. Your Liberties will be lost!" The Ministers now saw the beginning of the fulfillment of his prophecy.

The Massachusetts Assembly came together in May, and Governor Bernard made them a speech, which, but for his earnestness, might have been taken as a keen piece of irony. He said, "How happy for the Colonists, that the British Parliament was the Sanctuary of Liberty and Justice!" and more of that kind. June 6 the Assembly sent letters to all the Colonies, calling for a Congress at New York, on the first Tuesday in October. They thought the time for action had come, but that union and concert were first necessary. Rhode Island at once appointed delegates, as did most other of the Colonies.

Meantime affairs moved onward. The Massachusetts Statesmen and yeomen replied to Governor Bernard, in words of light and truth, which ought to be emblazoned in the eyes of those who cry "Law," and insult Justice.

¹ Tudor's *Life of Otis*.

² Gordon, vol. i., p. 143

“You are pleased to say, that the *Stamp Act* is an act of Parliament, and as such, ought to be observed. This House, sir, has too great a reverence for the supreme legislature of the nation to question its just authority. It by no means appertains to us to presume to adjust the boundaries of the power of Parliament ; *but boundaries there undoubtedly are.* We hope we may, without offense, put your Excellency in mind of that most grievous sentence of excommunication solemnly denounced by the Church, in the name of the sacred trinity, in the presence of King Henry III., and the estates of the realm, against all those who should make statutes, or observe them, being made, *contrary to the liberties of the Magna Charta.* We are ready to think that those zealous advocates for the Constitution usually compared their acts of Parliament with Magna Charta, and if it ever happened that such acts were made as infringed upon the rights of that Charter, they were always repealed. We have the same confidence in the rectitude of the present Parliament ; and therefore, can not but be surprised at an intimation in your speech, that they will require a submission to an act, as a preliminary to their granting relief from the unconstitutional burdens of it ; which we apprehend includes a suggestion in it far from your Excellency’s design, *and supposes such a wanton exercise of mere arbitrary power*, as ought never to be surmised of the patrons of liberty and justice.”¹

Almost at the same moment that the news of the passage of the act was received by Massachusetts, it was received in Virginia. In her Legislature [May, 1765] was a man who had failed as a merchant, had been unprosperous as farmer, and was now trying his talents as a lawyer.

His name was PATRICK HENRY.

For a time he sat silent, waiting the action of some of the older men, leaders there of public opinion ; but they did not move : then he rose, [29th May] three days before the adjournment, and offered his Resolutions, strongly as-

¹ Bradford’s Coll. Mass. State Papers, p. 45.

serting the right of the people to tax themselves ; that it had always been exercised ; and had never before been denied by England. This overture met with the most violent opposition from the more wealthy and conservative members, and Henry was plied with menaces, and loaded with epithets. He defended his Resolutions with energy, fire and eloquence. At one moment, in a tone of defiance, he exclaimed—

“Cæsar had his Brutus !

“Charles the First had his Cromwell !

“And George the Third—”

The Speaker, violently excited, here cried out, “Treason ! treason !” which was re-echoed from all sides. Then Henry, fixing his eye upon the Speaker, and pointing his finger at him, raised his voice above the confusion, and concluded—

“And George the Third—*may profit by their example.* If this be treason, make the most of it !”

In the face of the strongest opposition, Henry’s Resolutions were passed by a small majority, and were sent to the other colonies. Courage always begets courage ; and so it did now. The newspapers generally supported the Resolutions, and toned up public opinion.

The English party names of Whig and Tory (begun in 1680), were adopted in the colonies, to mark the larger and the smaller parties. “The Sons of Liberty” had sprung up all over New England, composed, mostly, of mechanics, tradesmen, and farmers, among whom were bold and daring fellows; not the least known of whom was Colonel Putnam, afterward famous, and called by Washington, “Old Put.” They instituted a correspondence, and agreed to act in concert ; for, animated by a common purpose, and resisting a common danger, in union was strength. They were men of action, and only waited their time.

In August, Ingersoll, the Connecticut Stamp Master, reached Boston, and Oliver, the Massachusetts Stamp

Master, received him, and escorted him on his way. The time seemed to have arrived when these Stamp Masters must be taken in hand, or the obnoxious law would be enforced upon the people ; and once enforced, would probably be submitted to. Would it not be better to resist it at the outset ?

On the night of the 13th of August, a party of men met together at Boston, among whom were Eades, the printer, Crafts, the painter, Smith and Cheverly, braziers, and others of that sort —working men. They had determined not to pay an oppressive tax, or obey an unjust law, king or no king ; and they were not lawyers to look for precedents, to see whether or not it was proper to resist. Something they were determined to do : so, in the stillness of midnight, they went to the great tree (corner of Washington and Essex-streets), and there quietly made some arrangements, and then stole away.

In the morning the passers-by noticed the bodies of men hanging from one of the branches. What! had Eades and his friends then committed murder? Oh, no. These were the effigies of Lord Bute and Andrew Oliver, the Boston Stamp Master, hanging in the eyes of the people. Every man stopped to see ; and among the crowd collected, jeers and jokes went from mouth to mouth.

“ Ho, ho !” they said ; “ Good-morning, Mr. Oliver. “ You have come to *high* honor. Ho, ho! good Mister Stamp Master, you propose to spend our money for us ? We wish you may get it !” and so on.

News of these doings spread over the city, and came to the ears of the king’s officers, who were indignant at the insult, and proposed to resent it by force ; but they were told that it would be best to let the matter alone.

Hutchinson, however, sent word to the Sheriff to cut down and remove the bodies ; but the crowd said—

“ We will remove them ourselves, when we get ready, and save you the trouble.”

THE RIOT IN
BOSTON.

Then Hutchinson himself came with the Sheriff, and as soon as the crowd saw them, they shouted,

“To arms, my boys. Hurrah!”

And refused to listen to his persuasions.

When night came on, the figures were taken down, laid on biers, and carried, with a great procession, bearing torches, through the streets of the city. When they reached the building in King-street, partly completed by Oliver, for a Stamp-office, it was the work of a few moments only, to lay it level with the ground, and to light bonfires with the pieces. Proceeding toward Fort Hill, they passed Oliver's house, from which his family had fled. They demolished the windows, and destroyed some furniture. Then they went to Fort Hill, and burned the effigies, in the midst of a vast concourse of cheering people.

These things surprised both the King's party and the People's party; but, so far, the mob had the sympathy of all classes except the office-holders and their friends. The next day, Mr. Oliver, through some of his friends, announced publicly that he would resign the office; but in the evening, the people again collected around a bonfire, and, distrusting him, called for another assurance. Then they clustered about the house of Hutchinson (one of the finest in Boston), whom they looked upon as a friend to the Tax, but were that time persuaded from violence.

For a few days, things remained quiet. On Sunday, 25th August, Dr. Mayhew preached in the West Meeting-house, from the text,

Galatians, ch. v., 12: “I would they were even cut off which trouble you.” Although the sermon was regular enough, the text, then, seemed significant, and Hutchinson (History) states that some were excited by it. At any rate, on the next night, the bonfires brought together their crowds, who, grown bold by success, proceeded to express their hatred against the Admiralty Courts and the Custom-houses, by attacking and damaging the houses of two officers, Story and Hallowel. In these, they found

good wines, which served to inflame their blood ; and then their shout was,

“ Hutchinson, Hutchinson !”

A friend hastened to his house, to warn him of his danger. He barred his windows, determined to resist their fury ; but his family dragged him away with them, in their flight. The mob rushed on, and beating down his doors, sacked the house and destroyed everything, even a valuable collection of books and manuscripts.

This excess shocked the wise friends of Liberty ; and in a public meeting, the Citizens disavowed the destruction, and set their faces against any further demonstrations of the sort.

Rewards were offered for the rioters, and Mackintosh and some others were apprehended, but were rescued by their friends ; and it was found impossible to proceed against them. The Court, of which Hutchinson was Chief Justice, met to express its disapprobation ; and to punish the people, it refused to proceed with business, and adjourned for six weeks. This the people bore surprisingly well, and the world rolled round as usual, while the hatred of the Stamp Tax was not abated. The Governor took the stamped paper which arrived, into the castle for protection, and tried to enlist troops, but without success. He then published a statement, that as the Stamp Master had resigned, and as he had no power to issue the Stamps, the matter should remain in *statu quo* till further orders from England. Things continued for some time comparatively quiet ; but the people were on the alert, and becoming suspicious that Oliver proposed to resume his office, determined that something must be done. In December he received a communication, citing him to appear the next day [December 17], at 12 o'clock, under the now famous “ Liberty Tree,” and make a public resignation, and receive the thanks of “ The True Sons of Liberty.” He learned that the streets were placarded with invitations to all people to be present, and after consult-

ing with his friends, he did not think it safe to refuse. Through a cold rain, he proceeded to the Tree, with some friends,—Mackintosh the rioter, walking at his right hand. Around the great tree was a large concourse of people, in the presence of whom he took an oath from Richard Dana, Justice of the Peace, that he never had, and never would take any measures to enforce the Stamp Act in America. Then, after three deafening cheers, he was at liberty to retire.

How were the Stamp Masters received in the other Colonies ?

Messervé, in New Hampshire, resigned the office at once, and received the warmest approbation. Mercer of Virginia did the same ; Cox of New Jersey, and McEwen of New York followed them ; Hood of Maryland, and Hughes of Pennsylvania, were forced to do so.

In Rhode Island, the people mobbed the houses of Howard and Moffat, and compelled Johnston, the Stamp Master, to resign.

In Connecticut, the Sons of Liberty threatened to hang Ingersoll on the first tree. When he reached home at New Haven, he protested that he had taken the office, intending nothing but good to his fellow-citizens, and because he believed he could administer it better than a stranger. Daggett indignantly said—

“If your father is to be hung, do you want to do it, because you can do it better than a stranger ? Is that a reason for an act against your countrymen ?”

The people collected at his house, and demanded his resignation ; and on the 17th of September, in town meeting, he was requested by public vote to resign without delay. Like meetings were also held in Norwich, and other towns. But Ingersoll was not easily frightened ; he said, “I will wait to see what the Assembly says.”

This did not suit the Sons of Liberty, among whom Putnam and Durkee were master spirits. From the Eastern part of the State (where the boldest spirits have

usually appeared) they set out in numbers on horseback, with eight days' provisions, to seek him : he sent them word that he would meet them at Hartford, where the Legislature were about to convene. On the evening of the day preceding the meeting of the Legislature, he was riding quietly along the woody banks of the Connecticut, where he was met by a mounted escort, which soon increased to thirty men, in the midst of which he reached Weathersfield, a few miles from Hartford. Greatly to his surprise he found a cavalcade of some five hundred mounted farmers and freeholders, each one armed with a white club, who, under the lead of Durkee, opened their lines in grim silence, for the Stamp Master to pass through; then they closed up and followed into the old wide Main-street of Weathersfield. There they demanded of him to resign at once.

He urged that he should first go to Hartford.

They said, "No, let us do the business here, in the open sky."

He urged that he should see the Governor.

They said, "We are the Government."

"But," Ingersoll said, "what, if I will not resign?"

They said, "Then expect your fate."

He replied, "I can die but once."

For three hours Ingersoll kept them off. Then Durkee went to him and warned him, that he could not restrain them longer. Ingersoll saw their white clubs, and heard their coming tramp, and coolly said—

"It is not worth dying for—" and then signed his resignation (Sept. 19).

They said, "Swear to it."

He declined.

"Then shout, 'Liberty and Property,' three times."

So he did.

After that Ingersoll, riding on his white horse, was escorted by the increasing cavalcade into Hartford, where the whole country was agog to see the sight. He himself

said, with sardonic wit, that he now clearly understood the meaning of "Death on a pale horse, and hell following him." There Durkee, collecting the crowd around the Court House, set up the Stamp Master in a conspicuous place in the presence of the Assembly, and commanded him to read his recantation, and to shout, "Liberty and Property !" which he did in a satisfactory manner ; and when all was ended, each man returned to his home. And that was the way they obeyed an unjust law in the year 1765.

It is well enough here, to recall to mind that the Rich never head a movement against tyranny, or risk any thing in defence of a principle ; and among cultivated men and scholars, the expression of sympathy with Right is commonly in words rather than deeds. No generous man can fail to give his heartfelt thanks to the Poor, who have always begun and fought the Revolutions against tyranny and usurpation, and in fighting for liberty have nobly sacrificed what they had—their Lives. Nor will any one be surprised if they should be led away by the heat of their hatreds, nor shall we be harsh and cruel in our judgment of them, when they have been betrayed into unwarrantable excesses ; a sound public opinion will see to it, that when the excitement is passed the *reaction* against them does not bring about a like or greater excess in punishments, thus sustaining force and wrong. It was by the poor, the day laborers in Boston and elsewhere, that the struggle was begun against Aristocratic oppression ; and by them that the work of the fight was done.

Throughout the summer the newspapers boldly attacked the Act and the Officers. The country was supplied with tracts, broadsides, squibs, satires, and ballads. In New York they posted it as "The folly of England and the ruin of America." A gazette extraordinary was published in Providence with the motto—

"Vox Populi, vox Dei."

"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty."

In Boston (Sept.) the Constitutional Courant appeared. At its head was a snake cut in pieces, and marked with the initials of the Colonies, with this motto—

“Join or die !”

The people, said Hutchinson, were absolutely without the use of Reason ; yet we find there was much “method in their madness.”

The Ministers generally preached against the law ; but in New York some of the “Church Clergy” plead obedience to the “Lord’s Anointed.”

“The people,” replied Livingston, “The PEOPLE are the Lord’s Anointed !” which in England might have cost him his head.

The Assemblies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Connecticut took ground against the Constitutionality of the Law.

At last, on the first Tuesday in October, twenty-eight delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New York. They adopted a Petition to the King, and a Memorial to the Parliament, acknowledging *due* submission, but claiming the Right of Self-representation, and at home too. They claimed this as *inherent*, and not to be yielded. John Adams said in his pamphlet, “Liberty must at all hazards be supported ; we have a right to it, derived from our Maker !” Bland, of Virginia, and Dulany, of Maryland, said the same. Some newspapers openly declared for Independence, and the Clubs and Committees labored for united action. So, step by step, they slowly advanced toward the true theory of Society. All the Governors, except Hopkins, opposed these movements, and predicted anarchy and ruin ; but the Colonial Assemblies endorsed the Congress ; and Massachusetts spoke boldly for the “inalienable rights of man,” founded on the law of God and of Human Nature. Timothy Ruggles presided over this Congress,

THE CONGRESS
AT NEW YORK.

but both he and Ogden of New Jersey refused to sign the petition, and Ogden was burned in effigy by his own people.

On the day for the Stamp Act to go into operation (November 1, "All Saints' Day!") not a Stamp Master existed in the Colonies, and not a Stamp was to be seen. In Boston, in Portsmouth, and in other towns, the populace assembled and carried the Stamp Act, with various devices and pageants, in procession through the streets to a burning or a burial. The cry was, "Liberty, Property, and no Stamps!" Everywhere, except at New York, riot and violence were avoided, and the day ended with quiet. For a while there was doubt as to how commercial and legal proceedings were to be carried on, and every thing was depressed.¹ The courts suspended their operations, and ship-owners were afraid to send their vessels without papers. But the people resumed their pursuits, and the ship-masters found their vessels did not founder even if they sailed without stamped papers, and the custom-houses were soon constrained to issue papers in the old way. The smaller courts then opened their doors for business, and it went forward as well as before. In Rhode Island they were not closed for a day. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, led by Hutchinson, made a stand; and even "patriot" lawyers, bound by precedents, thought it impossible to do business. Governor Bernard was determined and impolitic; but the Assembly was led by Samuel Adams, and that decided that the Courts must be opened, and proceed as usual. Then Hutchinson yielded (January), but protested that he was constrained by fear; and people found they could judge and be judged without the sanction of the King. They found that even if the long-cherished UNION with England should be dissolved, the world would still turn on its axis, the sun would shed its warmth, the clouds distill their rains, and the earth ripen its fruits. They

¹ John Adams's Diary.

learned, too, that there was a strong party in England in their favor.

In July the Grenville Ministry had gone out, and the Rockingham whigs had come in, THE REPEAL. which encouraged the hope of Repeal. The question had come to be of first importance in England, and the cry of "Wilkes and Liberty!" was followed by "No Taxation without Representation!" and the sturdy courage of the Americans met with open applause. The question came up in Parliament as to what should be done with America? Franklin was brought to the bar of the Commons, and subjected to a long and arduous examination, which he underwent with his usual dexterity and ability. At last the great Pitt, goaded by a taunt of Grenville's, rose, and in his reply took daring ground; he used such language as this:

"Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three Millions of people, so dead to all the feeling of liberty as *voluntarily* to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

This speech electrified the House, and probably surprised Pitt himself. The English people, generous, though bull-headed, sympathized with their rebellious brothers, and their warmth found an eloquent voice in Pitt. The outside pressure was too strong on the Ministry, who at last brought in a bill to Repeal the Stamp Act, having just saved their pride and consistency by a "Declaratory Act," that they had the right to bind the people of America "in all cases whatsoever." The popular will penetrated even the dull interior of the House of Lords, and caused a slight vibration.

In a crowded House, the Repeal was brought to a vote at three o'clock on the morning of the 22d February, and was passed by 275 against 167. Then cheer on cheer shook the roofs of St. Stephens, and echoed across the ocean. The Repeal was signed by the King on the 19th of March, 1766.

THE REPEAL
IN AMERICA.

When the news reached America in May, the people were everywhere exultant, for they had already begun to tire of the matter.¹ Men shook one another by the hand, and cried,

“See what determination will do.”

“We are not yet subdued.”

“Not yet, but wait,” said the Tories in their hearts.

The “Declaratory Act” was overlooked, and the Legislatures expressed their thanks for Repeal, and their loyalty to the King. At a meeting of citizens in Philadelphia, it was resolved to keep the King’s birth-day (4th of June), by dressing in new clothes of English goods, and to give their old ones to the poor. There were a few clear men, like Gadsden of South Carolina, and Mayhew of Boston, who saw and said that these hopes were deceitful; that the aristocracy would not give it up; and the people ought not to relax their vigilance. But this idea was not heeded in the general joy.

Dr. Mayhew said, “We were born free, never made slaves by the right of conquest in war—if there be, indeed, any such right—nor sold as slaves in any open, lawful market for *money*, so we have a natural right to *our own* till we have fully consented to part with it, either in person or by those whom we have appointed to represent and to act for us.”²

News of the Repeal reached this country in May, 1766, and the town of Boston appointed the 19th as a day of rejoicing, to celebrate the event. By this time all but a few office-holders and inveterate Conservatives, were clear that in no event ought the illegal tax be paid, and when the 19th came, all were ready for it. The bell of Dr. Byles’s Church, which stood nearest the Liberty Tree, first took up the chime soon after midnight of this bright morning, and was followed with a peal from every church

¹ History of War of Independence, by Charles Botta.

² Dr. Mayhew’s Thanksgiving Sermon on the Repeal of the Stamp Act. Boston, 1766.

and steeple within its sound; the peal went ringing through the neighboring country, and waked the people to the day. Before sunrise wagons came rattling into Boston, and soon the roads were alive. In the town men were busy hanging the streets with flags and mottoes, among which were

“Liberty, Property, and no Stamps.”

Gay streamers were run up on every house-top, and along the steeples, and the great Liberty Tree was covered with them. Bands of music in different parts of the town played stirring airs, and now and then a crowd would take up some patriotic song, and sing in chorus, for on that day even the New England men could sing. John Hancock, and some other rich citizens, kept open house, and dispensed a large hospitality. Subscriptions were made in various parts to release poor debtors who were then imprisoned, so that liberty became something more than a word to them. There has been no day when the Boston people were so great with the true spirit of liberty, or so generous with courage. Dr. Mayhew said, “We have never seen so sudden a transition from the depths of sorrow to the height of joy.”

The night came, and then every house blazed with light; skyrockets and fireworks sparkled on the Common; and the broad old “Liberty Tree,” hung with lamps, illuminated the crowd which gathered about it. When midnight came, the tap of the drum was the signal for repose, and then every one went to his home.

So ended the first (but not the last) HOLIDAY OF LIBERTY in Boston.

The
STRUGGLE BEGINS.
FIRST BLOOD.

A.D. 1770.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW TAXES.—THE MASSACRE AT BOSTON.—TEA THROWN OVERBOARD.

BERNARD AND HUTCHINSON—PATRIOTS START UP—MUTINY ACT—OBSTINACY—TOWNSEND'S PLAN—NON-IMPORTATION—THE CIRCULAR LETTER—LORD NORTH—FRENCH ADVANCES—THE LIBERTY SLOOP—RIOTS—THE RESCINDERS—STANDING ARMY—TROOPS ARRIVE—GENERAL GAGE—BAD BLOOD—OTHER STATES STAND BY MASSACHUSETTS—MANUFACTURES—FIRST BLOOD—"YANKEES AND BLOODY-BACKS"—THE FIFTH OF MARCH—ATTUCKS AND OTHERS KILLED—"TO ARMS!"—"MARTYRS TO LIBERTY"—CAPTAIN PRESTON TRIED—ORATIONS—THE TEA TAX—FRIENDS IN ENGLAND—BURNING OF THE GASPEE—LETTERS OF THE TORIES—COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE—THE TEA THROWN INTO THE SEA—INDIANS—LENDALL PITTS.

GOVERNOR BERNARD, of Massachusetts, was a strong Prerogative man, with a determined, overbearing character. Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor, was a man of decided talents, education, and address, but with a contempt for the opinions of the masses, and unlimited admiration for the English Government, under which he had held office so long. These two believed that they could control or bear down the resistance to the scheme of Taxation, to which the Ministry were committing themselves. They did not comprehend that they were on the wrong side, and that a wonderful power existed in an undisciplined, but undebauched people. Men were starting up on every hand, who could dare and do; among whom were Otis, the two Adamses, Quincy, Cushing, Hancock, the Reverends Samuel Cooper and Mayhew, and others, in Massachusetts; Trumbull, Pitkin, Sherman, Deane, Wooster, Durkee, and Putnam, in Connecticut; Hopkins and Brown, and Whipple and Cooke, in Rhode Island; Wentworth, Sullivan, Langdon, and Folsom, in New Hampshire; Randolph, Henry, Lee, Bland, Washington, Jefferson, in Virginia; Rutledge, Gadsden, Ramsay, and

Laurens, in South Carolina ; Mifflin and Thomson, in Pennsylvania ; Sears, and M'Dougall, and Jay, in New York ; and thousands more, ready to sacrifice all, to save all—to protect their Principles, and guard their Properties.

To attack both property and principle at the same time, now seems madness ; but letters sent to the Ministry by Bernard, Hutchinson, and Oliver, who were on the spot, encouraged them in their plans. By the Mutiny Act of 1764, the Provinces were to provide the English troops with certain stores, and with Barracks. Governor Bernard had taken the responsibility of furnishing stores to a small body of troops, at the close of the year 1766 ; but when the House met at Boston [January, 1767], they called him to account, and firmly refused their consent to his act. The New York Legislature, about the same time, flatly refused to make any payments for the troops ; which exasperated their Governor, Sir Henry Moore, and provoked the British Parliament to suspend the Legislature from its functions. By these things, the minds of the people were kept excited, and the willfulness of the English Ministry was roused to obstinacy.

In May [1767], Charles Townshend's plan
NEW TAXES. for taxing the Colonies, was passed. It provided for a small duty upon paper, paints, glass, tea, etc. ; and the colonial officers were also to be paid by the Crown, and to be no longer dependent upon the fitful generosity of the Colonies. The Trade laws were to be enforced ; smuggling was not to be permitted ; and a Board of Commissioners was appointed, to sit in Massachusetts, to see to the Duties, etc., etc.¹

These things produced a profound and wide-spread irritation and jealousy ; yet what was to be done, was not clear. Hutchinson believed the duties could be collected, and the Patriot leaders were not certain that the people were ready to resist. The Town-meeting at Boston [October 28], resolved in favor of Home Manufactures, and

¹ Gordon, vol. i., p. 214.

recommended Non-Importation from England ; which they found to be a convincing argument with the British merchants.

The Massachusetts House, in February, 1768, sent a "Circular Letter" to all the Colonies, requesting them to unite in some suitable measure of Redress ; which was followed by petitions to the King, and Remonstrances to the Parliament from all quarters. But Townshend died, and was succeeded by Lord North, a good-tempered man enough, but a high Tory, who declared he would "bring America to his feet." He cared not for remonstrances.

Franklin still continued in London, as agent for some of the Colonies, and attracted more and more attention, as the quarrel with the Colonies came to be observed by all Europe. He was approached by the French minister and others, and received intimations, that in case of a rupture, the Colonies might obtain help. He still held fast by the old Union, and yet believed moderation and justice possible. De Kalb and some other persons in the pay of France, were in America, and were sending over reports to the French ministers, about the temper of things there.

June of this year came (June 10, 1768), and into the harbor of Boston sailed John Hancock's sloop "Liberty," with a cargo of wines, etc. The Captain invited the tide-waiter into the cabin, as the custom had come to be ; where he was to regale himself, while the cargo was hurried ashore. He refused to go, very singularly, when he was roughly seized, and taken to the cabin by main strength, and the cargo was hoisted out of the vessel before day. The next morning, the entry at the Custom-house contained only a few pipes of wine, left on board for that purpose.

The case seemed clear, and toward night the sloop was seized by the Collector, who ordered her to be taken from the wharf, and to lay her under the guns of the English man-of-war. To this, the crowd objected, alleging it was an insult to the town, and the Collector and his officers

THE "LIBERTY"
SLOOP.

were roughly handled. On the 12th, a great crowd swarmed on the docks, and taking the Collector's boat, dragged it through the streets and burned it on the Common; they threatened other violence. The Board of Commissioners was extremely unpopular, and fearing danger, hastily took refuge in the Castle (with the exception of Temple, who was a popular man). These things indicated a bad condition of things, and the House called upon the Governor to prosecute the Riotors, but no man would betray another, and he could get no witnesses.

Hancock was sued for violating the Customs laws, but no evidence dared to advance against him, and with a bad grace his sloop was returned to him, for the Court knew that she was fairly forfeited.

On the 28th, the merchants held a large meeting, to consult upon this new plan of taxation, and signed an agreement to import no more goods from England, and appointed an influential committee, who took measures to induce or force, all to come into the agreement; great numbers of brave women, too, "Daughters of Liberty," proscribed Tea as a hateful article, and it went into general disfavor.

Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of the Colonies, had sent directions to Governor Bernard, that the "Circular Letter" of Massachusetts to the Colonies, must be rescinded.

Governor Bernard sent his message to the House;—and the House met the emergency; Otis's speech was audacious, and their reply to the Governor—that they would not rescind—was passed by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen. The next day the names of the famous "92" and of the obnoxious "17" were placarded on the walls through the city. Bernard was deeply chagrined, and on the 1st of July dissolved the Assembly.¹

News of these things went through the towns, and through the country, and every farmer, and mechanic, and tradesman, looked to the Boston House of Representatives,

¹ Hutchinson, vol. iv. Grahame, vol. iv.; London Edition, 1836.

as a bulwark against unjust taxation and tyranny. They said—"We can tax ourselves; we can appoint our own Governors and pay them; and we can defend ourselves:—we want neither Laws, Governors, Bishops, nor Soldiers from England."

As early as 1756, the position had been taken in England, that TROOPS might be sent to the colonies, and that the colonies were bound to find them quarters; and Loudoun had forced his troops upon New York and Pennsylvania; and in 1755 the "Quartering Act" was passed.

STANDING
ARMY.

But worse news than this soon reached the colonies, viz., that a "Standing Army" was to be kept in the colonies, and that the first troops were about entering Boston harbor. On the 28th day of September (1768), some seven armed vessels arrived from Halifax, and with several more, drew up in line, broadside to the town, while gunners stood with lighted matches at the guns on their decks. And for what? That seven hundred British soldiers, in red coats, who had no quarrel with any man in America, might get safely landed, and so frighten the Boston folks into obeying laws they did not make, and paying taxes they had determined not to pay.

Resistance seemed vain; and the gallant troops marched through the streets, with drums and colors, to encamp on the beautiful Common, while the people looked on in ominous silence.

The Governor required the Select-men to provide quarters. They peremptorily refused. He then opened Faneuil Hall for the shelter of one Company; and the next day (Sunday) gave them the use of the State House. Cannon were stationed, guards mounted and changed, and Boston appeared like a town under martial law.

The temper of the whole people was chafed, their Legislative Halls were disgraced, and their Sabbaths desecrated; they were fast coming to believe in "the sacred right of insurrection," and to adopt Samuel Adams's determination,

"Independent we are, and independent we will be."¹ General Gage came from New York to Boston, but the town steadily declined to pay or provide for his troops, and he was forced to hire such quarters as he could find. The soldiers soon came to feel that the quarrel was their own, and so ill-blood was bred fast. Before the close of the year, four thousand Regulars were collected at Boston,² and the cause of the people seemed hopeless.

In May, 1769, the Governor of Massachusetts convened the Assembly, which persistently refused to do any business while surrounded by a military force. These things exasperated the Ministry, and Parliament urged the king to order the principal offenders to England, to be tried for treason; Colonel Barré, Edmund Burke, Gov. Pownall, and a few others only opposing it.

Virginia at once met the emergency with Resolutions strongly sustaining all that Massachusetts asked, viz., SELF-TAXATION, and TRIAL BY JURY AT HOME. South Carolina, North Carolina, Delaware, Maryland, and New York, adopted substantially the same Resolutions; and bravely stood by New England. The Non-Importation agreement extended in all quarters, and the Clubs were active in enforcing it. Manufactures now sprang into life all over the country; and the next graduates of Harvard were all dressed in black cloth made in New England.³

Franklin had said to the British Senate,
FIRST BLOOD. "That troops would not find, but would easily

¹ Spoken in Town Meeting, 1769.

² Grahame, vol. iv., p. 276.

³ The exports from England fell away in consequence of the Non-Importation agreements, as appears by an abstract of the Custom House entries; but the decrease was in the Northern colonies only:

	1767 to 1768.	1768 to 1769.
New England,	£419,000	£207,000
New York,	483,000	74,000
Pennsylvania,	432,000	119,000
Maryland and Virginia,	475,000	488,000
Carolina,	209,000	306,000

create a rebellion." But Bernard, Hutchinson, and the Conservatives, believed the contrary, and urged force.

The soldiers and the townspeople at once represented opposite sides, and freely indulged in jeers and taunts, till both sides were rasped into animosity. The mechanics and laborers were taunted with being "Damn'd Yankees and rebels;" and they quickly retorted, calling the soldiers "Lobsters, and Bloody Backs"—referring to the fact that they were whipped for breaking rules.

The dislike to the soldiery increased in all quarters, and in New York had resulted in violence. Whenever they were walking or lounging in the Boston streets, they were liable to jeers and insults. Boys were ready to shout, and hot words and coarse epithets flew thick.

On the second of March (1770), an affray happened between some of the soldiers and some of Gray's rope-makers, in which the soldiers were worsted. They attempted to renew the fight, which the townsmen prevented. But time did not quiet the ill feeling; and on Monday night (March 5), the bells were set a ringing, and crowds of men collected in various quarters, armed with clubs. The common shout was—"Let us attack the damned scoundrels!"—meaning the soldiers. About nine o'clock, some of them were set upon and driven into the barracks, where through the gates they exchanged taunts. "Come up, you lobsters! we'll fight you!" and so on. And through the town was passed the cry—"Fire! fire! Town born! turn out! turn out!"

Francis Archbald, jr., testified, that he saw a soldier, about nine o'clock that evening, flourishing his sword about, in the Alley (from Cornhill to Brattle-street), and that some one told him to put it into the scabbard; words passed, and the boys finally chased the soldier to the barracks. Shortly, some twelve or fifteen soldiers came out,¹ "with cutlasses, tongs, and clubs, and came up

¹ A Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston, March 5, 1770. Printed by Order of the Town of Boston: 1770.

to them, and damned them, and said, Where is the Yankee boogers?" and then began to strike the people.

The mob seemed to be seeking an excuse to attack the soldiers, and went about the streets seeking them and saying—

"Curse the dogs, where are they now?"

A large party collected about the custom-house, and a boy pointed to the sentry on duty, crying—

"There is the son-of-a-bitch that knocked me down!"

Some cried out—"Kill him! kill him!" and they then began to pelt him with snow and ice. He loaded his musket and retreated up the steps, shouting to the main guard for help. Captain Preston sent a half-dozen soldiers to his aid; but it did no good, for the crowd were much excited, and gathered about them with screams and yells, and dared them to fire. Just at this time, a stout mulatto, named Attucks, followed by a dozen sailors, rushed in with cheers, crying—

"Don't be afraid; they dare not fire! Kill them! knock them down!"

Attucks struck down one of the muskets, and pressed in, as if to overpower them; when some one cried out—

"Damn your bloods! why don't you fire?"

Montgomery then fired, and killed Attucks, which was followed by a volley, and three persons were killed outright, and five wounded.

The mob dispersed at once, carrying the dreadful news through the city. Then the drums beat, and through the night men in the streets shouted—

"To arms! to arms!"

The next morning, the whole people turned out, and in Town-meeting, appointed a Committee to wait upon Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, with the request, that the soldiers should be removed from the town at once, to preserve its peace and save life. Samuel Adams spoke to the Lieutenant-Governor and the military officers, till they began to believe him, and at last they gave way.

Captain Preston and his men were committed to prison, to be tried for having fired on the people without orders from a civil officer ; and for the present the explosion was arrested.

On the 8th of March the bells of Boston, Charlestown, and Roxbury, were tolled mourn- THE FUNERAL fully, for the " Martyrs to Liberty" were to be buried. The bodies were brought to the point where they fell (on King-street), and were borne through the city with an immense procession, closed by the carriages of the principal people.

This thing produced a profound sensation, for the destruction of thousands on the battle-field is less fearful than the murder of a few known citizens, even if done in self-defense. The hatred of the purpose which these soldiers were sent to enforce, was so great, that they also were detested, and the populace clamored for the execution of Preston and his guard. Then Josiah Quincy and John Adams (both foremost in the cause of liberty), undertook their defense before the Court. They believed that the shooting was provoked by an aggravated attack ; they defended them, and the soldiers were acquitted, except two, who were proved to have committed manslaughter, and were afterward pardoned.

But the Select-men of Boston, and the Justices, and a committee from the Town-meeting, waited upon Governor Hutchinson, and represented to him and to Colonel Dalrymple, that the soldiers must be removed, or there could be no assurance of peace or safety. Old Samuel Adams appealed to them with a manly voice, but with trembling hands ; and unwillingly the officers consented to go.

The fatal day, the " Fifth of March," was long remembered, and was commemorated by an annual oration from some of the first men of the Revolution.

James Lovell, A.M., in his Boston oration (April 2, 1771), said,

“By brave militias States rise to grandeur, and they come to ruin by a mercenary army.”

“Make the bloody 5th of March the era of the resurrection of your birthrights, which have been murdered by the very strength that nursed them in their infancy.”

Joseph Warren said in his oration (March 5, 1772) :

“Public happiness depends on a virtuous and unshaken attachment to a free constitution.

“The greatest and most important right of a British subject is, that he shall be governed by no laws but those to which he either in person, or by his representative, hath given his consent.

“The fatal 5th of March, 1770, can never be forgotten ; the horrors of that dreadful night are but too deeply impressed on our hearts.

“Troops are stationed in our midst, and we are to be governed by the absolute commands of others ; our property is to be taken away without our consent.

“The voice of your fathers’ blood cries to you from the ground, ‘MY SONS, SCORN TO BE SLAVES.’”

Dr. Benjamin Church cried (March 5, 1773) :

“Defenseless, prostrate, bleeding countrymen—the piercing, agonizing groans—the mingled moans of weeping relatives and friends—these best can speak to rouse the lukewarm into noble zeal ; to fire the zealous into manly rage against the foul oppression of quartering troops in populous cities in times of peace.”

John Hancock said (March 5, 1774) :

“I have the most animating confidence that the present noble struggle for liberty will terminate gloriously for America. And let us pray the more for our God, and for the cities of our God.”

About this time (April 12),¹ the Ministry in England led Parliament to repeal all the duties except that on Tea, which was fixed at a low rate. But it was too late, the mischief was done, and the people were now roused to re-

¹ Gordon.

sist a tax of a penny, as sternly as that of a pound. They were alive to the value of a *principle*, and knew that if a tax for a penny was permitted, then safety to property was at an end.

The Ministry were determined to sustain the principle, and hoped by the smallness of the duty and by cheap tea, to bribe the people to allow the tax.

The Bishops in England too, still pressed the importance of establishing their Church in the Colonies.¹ But Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, advocated, through the press, separation from the Colonies; he would cut them off, as a punishment for their rebellious spirit.² This was unpalatable, and even Burke pronounced it a "childish scheme." The claims of the Patriots were ably seconded by Drs. Price and Priestly, by Pownall, and Thos. Paine. They were strongly opposed by Adam Smith, by the great Tory Dr. Johnson, and by George Chalmers.

Through 1771 and 1772, matters seemed to subside, but neither side was satisfied. Hutchinson led and sustained the Tories, and kept up a constant dispute with the Massachusetts House.

The Tories were despised and feared. It was common to say, "We are commanded to forgive our enemies, but nowhere our friends!" and these were of their own household. Associations were every where formed against the purchase or use of Tea, unless it was smuggled, and the Boston "Committee of 21" sent a circular letter to all the towns, to inspire courage and steadiness—they said:

"We are not afraid of poverty, but we disdain slavery."

A little thing transpired in the waters near Providence, which will illustrate the temper of the times.

RHODE ISLAND
—THE GASPEE.

The armed vessel, Gaspee, commanded by Lieut. Dudingston, was set to watch the harbors and prevent smug-

¹ Grahame, vol. iv.

² He is by most historians erroneously counted as a friend to the Rights of the Colonies. Sparks's Franklin, vol. iv.

gling : she required all vessels to lower their flags, as a sign of submission ; but on the 9th of June a packet was coming from Newport to Providence, and not lowering her flag, a shot was sent after her. The master of the packet ran her into shallow water, and led on the Gaspee, till she stuck fast at high tide. Then she sailed away, and told the story in Providence.

John Brown, a merchant, and Whipple, Hopkins, and Dunn, ship-masters, at once conceived the plan of taking her. They sent a drummer through the streets to beat up recruits, manned some whale boats, and in the dead of night pulled down the harbor. They boarded the Gaspee at 2 o'clock, seized the officers and crew, and sent them and their effects ashore ; and then burned her to the water's edge. This was a daring act—rank treason to England. A Commission was appointed to try the rioters, and a reward of £500 was offered for evidence ; but *not a man opened his lips* ; and so nothing was done about it. So staunch were the friends of Freedom in that day, they could not be bought even with £500.¹

During these stirring years, Hutchinson, and other active men who favored the cause of the Ministry, kept up a correspondence with England, urging strong measures against the Colonies. Copies of these letters came by chance into the hands of Dr. Franklin, and by him were sent, with a charge of secrecy, to friends in Boston. They were so important, and showed so clearly the designs of the Tories and the Ministry, that Samuel Adams called for their reading in the House, the doors being closed (June) They were listened to with breathless surprise and disapprobation, and were condemned in a strong Report. By some management they were shortly published, when they produced a startling sensation, and deepened the distrust and dislike in which Gov. Hutchinson, Judge Oliver, and most of the Custom-house officials, were already held. The

¹ The Destruction of the Gaspee, by William R. Staples. Providence, 1845.

Assembly, by a vote of one hundred and nine to four, appointed a Committee of Correspondence, to co-operate with that of Virginia (already appointed in March), and with the Committees of the other Colonies.

The stubborn and extended resistance of the Colonies to the purchase and use of Tea, completely foiled and perplexed the Ministry, and left the East India Company's store-houses

THE TEA
THROWN INTO
THE SEA.

crowded. Something must be done, and it was decided to remove the Export duty of 12d. stg., thus greatly reducing the price in the Colonies, and consign the tea to the various ports in the Colonies for sale there, as they would not buy it in England. It seemed that if they would not order, it was to be forced upon them. The resistance of the Colonies was equalled by the rashness of the Ministry. Franklin wrote, "The Ministry have no idea that people can act from any other principle but that of interest."¹ But, upon receipt of this news, the Committees of Correspondence, and the Political Clubs were stirred up to renewed vigilance, and the people were made ready to meet the coming emergency. It was declared, that any man who should, in any way, lend himself to the carrying out of this dangerous measure of the British Government, should be considered an enemy to his country. Some of the leaders thought this Act of the Ministry might be too small to warrant active resistance; but others urged, that it was true Policy and Wisdom to resist the beginnings—to resist then; that one insidious measure after another would debauch the public mind, and surely undermine their liberties; they proved to be right. "*The first step costs*" always, and should be always resisted when wrong.

Exactly what course should or could be taken it was not easy to say or see; but it was generally understood by the "Sons of Liberty" that the Tea should not be landed. In the pleasant Autumn weather, in the Indian

¹ Letter to Cushing, June 4, 1773.

summer days, the Tea ships began to come to Charleston, to Philadelphia, to New York, to Boston, and to Portsmouth.

At Charleston they allowed the Tea to be landed, but not to be sold, and it rotted in the store-houses.

At Philadelphia, the Clubs led the people, and forced the Consignees to send it back to England.

At New York they did the same, though the Tories there were numerous and influential.

At Portsmouth they sent it away to Halifax.

At Boston, the Consignees were the sons of Hutchinson ; and the Governor determined that it should be landed, and sold. The Sons of Liberty were equally determined that it should not be. The people were at once convened in a mass or "Body Meeting," and appointed an active and influential Committee, to request the Consignees to decline the Tea, and to send it back to England. They would not consent by any means, and the Governor, too, gave orders that the vessels should not sail till the duties were paid. The people then organized themselves into strong guards, and kept constant watch at the docks to prevent the landing. Public meetings were held in the Old South Meeting-house and elsewhere, and the Liberty-tree was the rendezvous for the crowd, and the struggle between the Authorities, on the one hand, led by Governor Hutchinson, and the inhabitants, led by the Committees and Sons of Liberty, on the other, continued for some weeks, and increased in violence. Two more ships loaded arrived, and the Governor was firm ; the people were excited and poured in from twenty miles round, to the great meeting of December 16th.¹ Then Josiah Quincy made his great speech, and advised that no step be taken which they were not ready to support. Towards evening, in the midst of the proceedings, an Indian in the gallery gave the war-whoop, and shouted—

"Hurrah for Griffin's Wharf !"

¹ Massachusettensis, by Leonard. Boston, 1776.

The shout was re-echoed outside the walls, and the meeting broke up. Small parties of Indians were seen making their way swiftly from different quarters ; there was evidently a concert of action among them, and Lendall Pitts was their leader. They went directly to the ships, opened the holds, and deliberately broke in every chest (342) of them,¹ and poured the Tea into the sea. The people crowded the Docks, and when the deed was done, quietly dispersed.²

The Governor and his friends were astounded, and began to believe that this was truly a stubborn and rebellious people. Thus this plan of the Ministry was completely frustrated—and the Colonies, North and South, declined to obey the Lord's Anointed.

¹ Hutchinson, vol. iii., p. 436. •

² Bradford's Hist. Boston, 1822. Gordon's Hist. Hutchinson's Hist. Ramsay's Hist. Belknap's Hist. Grahame's Hist. M. H. Coll. Traits of the Tea Party. N. Y., 1835.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BOSTON PORT-BILL.—THE "YANKEES."

WILL THEY FIGHT?—"YANKEE"—THE PORT-BILL PASSED—GENERAL GAGE, GOVERNOR—BOSTON PORT CLOSED—TOWN-MEETING—VIRGINIA AND OTHER COLONIES—TWELVE O'CLOCK NOON, JUNE 1—MUFFLED BELLS—DISTRESS—CONTRIBUTIONS—FIVE DELEGATES TO A CONGRESS—OTHER DELEGATES—CARPENTERS WONT WORK FOR GAGE—"SUFFOLK RESOLUTIONS"—STANDING ARMIES.

THE Ministry were now astonished and perplexed, for the eyes of Europe were upon them, and the struggle had become interesting; Lord North was ashamed to retreat, and it seemed the willful Colonies would not. So Governors Hutchinson, Tryon, and Carleton, were re-called to England, and the question was asked, "Will the Colonies Fight?"

Hutchinson thought not. Carleton thought an army of at least ten thousand would be necessary to subdue them. Tryon thought large armies and long effort would be needed. Many said, "the Yankees are a degenerate race: they have nothing of the soldier in them."¹

Few in England were prepared for the desperate resistance made to the Tea-tax in the Colonies, and hardly any persons defended Boston. The Privy Council had unhesitatingly rejected the petition of Massachusetts, that, after the exposure of their letters, Governor Hutchinson and Judge Oliver should be removed. They now (January, 1774), dismissed Dr. Franklin in disgrace from the position of Postmaster General for the Colonies.

Although all the Colonies had resisted the import of Tea,

¹ The term "Yankee" was used by a simple-headed man, Jonathan Hastings—whose house the Cambridge students frequented—to express a good thing; as, a "Yankee horse," a "Yankee chap," etc. So he came to be called "Yankee Jon.," and the Americans, in derision, "Yankees."—*Gordon*.

yet as Massachusetts had been particularly active, it was determined that Boston should be made to suffer so severely, that the other Colonies would be struck with terror and dismay.

The measure hit upon, was to close the Port of Boston, so that no vessel should sail in or sail out, and thus to destroy her business and prosperity, and fill her houses with desolation, and her streets with growing grass. This Bill was passed in March, almost without opposition, and Bolan (the Massachusetts Agent), was refused a hearing.

It was followed by another act (April), which entirely changed the character of the Massachusetts Government, and gave the appointment of the Council, and all Judges and officers, to the Governor. Juries could no longer be elected by the people, and Town-meetings could only be held at the pleasure of the Governor.

The third Act was, that any person charged with any capital offense committed in aiding the Governor, should be sent to England, and should not be tried in the Colonies.

To carry out these measures for subduing Massachusetts, and through her to reach all the Colonies, General Gage, Commander-in-chief in America, was appointed Governor, and was received with parade at Boston, in May (13th), 1774. It now seemed clear to the Tories, who believed in the divine rights of George III., that the Colonies must yield.

In the same ship which brought General Gage, came the Port Bill, which was to take effect on the 1st of June ; from that day silence was to prevail on the docks, and grass was to grow in the streets of Boston. The Bill was discussed next day in Town-meeting, and the irritation and bitterness were highly increased ; but neither people nor leaders seemed to be intimidated. They declared against the “Impolicy, injustice, and inhumanity of the act, and appealed to God and the world.” Town-meetings were

THE PORT
OF BOSTON
CLOSED.

held elsewhere, and the patriots were at work with the newspapers and with pamphlets, to bring up the people to action. They did not despair, or cease to work. The odious bill was posted on the walls of Boston, inclosed with a broad border of black, and was spit on by the people.

When the news of the Port Bill reached Virginia, Henry, the two Lees, Jefferson, and four or five more, met privately for consultation ; for they considered that Randolph, and the older members, were not alive to the pressing dangers of the time. The question was, how to arouse the minds of the people to the importance and dangers of the moment, and show the necessity of action. It was decided to appoint the 1st of June as a day of fasting and prayer, and one of the older members was enlisted to move the Resolution.¹

The citizens of Charleston called a meeting to express sympathy.²

The New York Assembly, then in session, was controlled by the Tories, but Sears, and M'Dougall, and Willet, sent on assurances of support to Boston.

Connecticut appointed a Fast ; and directed Captain Hurlburt to take an inventory of all cannon and military stores at the battery and town of New London.

On the 1st day of June, at twelve o'clock noon, business was suspended at Boston, never to be resumed except by force. The warehouses were closed ; the harbor was deserted ; and the few vessels left were dismantled. Rents fell to nothing, and property was useless ; mechanics and laborers lay idle ; and the city was shadowed deep in despondency.

It was a marked day in all parts of the colonies. In Virginia the people collected in their churches, and were impressed with the fact, that the tyranny Boston felt

¹ Memoirs, etc., of Jefferson, by Thomas Peyton Randolph. Charlottesville, 1829.

² Ramsay's United States. Philadelphia Ed., May, 1818.

might soon reach them. In Philadelphia, muffled bells tolled during the day, and most of the houses were closed. In other places the day was one of mourning.

Distress came upon them in Boston. Merchants could not pay their debts, nor could mechanics and laborers find work ; yet they bore all with stern determination. As soon as their condition was known, contributions poured in from all quarters : Charleston sent rice ; Marblehead, codfish ; North Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia, grain ; New Jersey, grain ; Pennsylvania, money. Sheep, beef, fish, etc., came in from neighboring towns. The sympathies of the people were quick, and the cause of Boston was the cause of all. Marblehead offered the Boston merchants the use of her wharves and warehouses, and the services of her merchants ; and Salem refused to reap the harvest which Boston could not gather.

General Gage removed the Assembly from Boston to Salem. But they would neither be subdued nor alarmed. They proceeded to Resolve—that a Congress of committees from all the colonies was wise and proper, and was needed to re-establish their rights, and restore harmony between them and the mother country. Gage attempted to dissolve them, but they closed their doors, and appointed five to meet in Congress at Philadelphia, in September : these were Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, and James Bowdoin—names “tolerably well known” in the Revolution. Twelve of the “Old Thirteen” followed suit (Georgia alone excepted). Virginia sent seven of her best men ; and resolved not to import any more slaves from Africa, or goods from England, and to cease to export to England, if things were not redressed.¹

Governor Wentworth dissolved the Assembly of New Hampshire, but the towns held a Convention [July], and sent John Sullivan and Nathaniel Folsom delegates to the Congress.

¹ Gordon's History, vol. i.

From Connecticut went Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane, who were wisely counseled and nobly sustained by Governor Trumbull.

From Rhode Island went Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward.

General Gage was a soldier, and believed in soldiers, and he went steadily forward collecting more troops and stores into Boston. He believed in men, not principles. He wanted more barracks, but the carpenters would not work for him ; he tried to get them from New Hampshire, but they refused to come. They said,

"We are starving, but we will not work against our country and the Right." Juries refused to co-operate with the judges, and the people so crowded the avenues of the court-rooms that the judges could not get to the bench.¹ But Gage went on to form camps, to collect troops, and to raise fortifications. The towns on all hands passed bold resolves, and the "Suffolk Resolutions" declared that "no obedience was due to the recent Acts of Parliament, but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America ;" and they determined to resist a wicked law at whatever cost.²

In these resolves, prepared by Dr. Joseph Warren (Sept. 6, 1774), and accepted by Congress, we find these bold positions :

"2. That it is an indispensable duty which we owe to God, our country, ourselves, and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power to maintain, defend, and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties for which many of our fathers fought, bled, and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations."

"That the late Act of Parliament for establishing the Roman Catholic religion and the French laws in Canada, is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion, and to the civil rights and liberties of America," etc.

¹ Holland's Hist. Western Mass.

² Grahame, vol. iv., p. 355.

Pamphlets were written, and hawked in the streets, and Josiah Quincy, jr., in his powerful argument against standing armies, said,

“To spoil, to slaughter, and to commit every kind of violence; and then to call the maneuver by a lying name—GOVERNMENT; and when they have spread a general devastation, call it PEACE.”—(Quoted from Tacitus.)

“In the barbarous massacres in France in the 16th century, the very hangmen refused obedience to the cruel mandates of the French monarch, saying they were legal officers, and only executed those the laws condemned. Yet history bears testimony that the *soldiers* performed the office which the hangmen refused.”¹

And we now safely say, just in proportion as the duties of the soldier and the citizen are united in the same person, and in each individual, just so far is civil liberty possible, and the safety of the INDIVIDUAL rendered secure against the ambitions and usurpations of rulers and demagogues.

¹ Observations on the Boston Port Bill, etc., by Josiah Quincy, jr. Boston, 1774.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

THE GLORIOUS "55"—PEYTON RANDOLPH, CHAIRMAN—SPEECHES—HOUSES OR LIBERTIES—
DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, ADDRESS TO THE KING, ETC.—NON-IMPORTATION—SAMUEL
ADAMS—UNION?—NEW YORK REPUDIATES—ENGLAND REJECTS—APPEALS SCATTERED.

A GRAVE and determined body of men gathered at Philadelphia [5th September, 1774], to consider what these scattered Colonies could and should do. Some of these, "the glorious fifty-five," were impulsive, and some slow ; yet all had decided that something must be done. One half the Deputies were Lawyers ;¹ but there was a capacity for Action as well as Talk among them ; the slow were stimulated and the fast restrained.

Peyton Randolph of Virginia, was chosen Chairman, and Charles Thompson of Pennsylvania, Secretary. Strong professions of Loyalty were made, and few wished for Separation, while all hoped for reconciliation.² Speeches were made by John Adams, John Jay, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, John Dickinson, Samuel Chase, John Rutledge, and others. One of the most memorable and worthy sentiments was uttered by Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, in the face of most alarming dangers to property, urged by some timid members :

"Our seaport towns, Mr. President, are composed of brick and wood ; if they are destroyed, we have clay and timber enough to rebuild them. But if the LIBERTIES of our country are destroyed, where shall we find the materials to replace them ?"

It is not necessary to go into the details of this Congress ; in brief, they drew up and published, in October,

¹ Ramsay's History.

² Sparks's Life of Franklin.

A Declaration of Rights ;
An Address to the King ;
An Address to the People of Great Britain ;
A Memorial to the Americans ; and
A Letter to the People of Canada.

They reprobated the slave-trade, and desired all the Colonies instantly to renounce further importation of slaves. They declared, if the late Acts of Parliament should be forcibly executed in Massachusetts, then "all America ought to support her in her opposition."

Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania, presented and urged a plan for the continued Union of the Colonies and England, but it was not adopted—it was too late.

Non-Importation and Exportation agreements were signed by all the members. Home manufactures were urged, and Committees of Vigilance were appointed. Then, on the 26th October, the "fifty-five" separated and returned to their homes, determined, as they expressed it,

"That they were themselves to stand or fall with the Liberties of America."¹

In this Congress, Samuel Adams was a master-spirit. Galloway said of him :² "He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. It was this man who, by his superior application, managed at once the factions in Congress at Philadelphia, and the factions of New England."³

Washington and Lee believed the Non-Importation and Exportation Agreements would open the eyes of England, and would bring things right. But Patrick Henry agreed with John and Samuel Adams, in believing that *Force* must decide it, and, like them, was ready to meet the emergency.

But was a Union of the Colonies possible ? There were many Tories and many conflicting interests in the

¹ Pitkin's History of the United States, page 362.

² Historical and Political Reflections.

³ Mr. Galloway was one of the few who fell off, and joined the Tories.

Colonies ; and Governor Hutchinson declared such a union of action impossible.

The New York Legislature at once repudiated the doings of the Congress ; but elsewhere it met with a hearty response. In New England, the Legislatures and people set themselves to work to carry out its recommendations, determined to retain their Liberties at the risk of their lives ; and they did retain them.

In December, 1774, the Petition of the first Congress was received in England, presented by Franklin, Lee, and Bollan, and sent to the House. When it came up for discussion, the Agents of the Colonies asked to be heard, but were refused, and the petition was rejected by an overwhelming majority.¹

Such appeals as this, from "A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans ; in which the necessary Consequences of violently opposing the King's Troops, are fairly stated, etc.,"² were scattered through the country :

"There is no room to doubt," says the writer, "but such an army as was employed in the reduction of Canada, would be more than sufficient for the conquest of all the American Colonies."

"Nay a Rebellion is evidently commenced in *New England*, in the county of Suffolk, without room for retreating. The cry now is : 'We have no part in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. Every man to his tent, O ISRAEL.'"

"Congress," he states, "was looked to with hope, but alas ! the mystery was, that even these 'faithful Guardians' were disposed to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with its worst enemies, the New England and other *Presbyterian Republicans*."

"Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-Subjects !" he continues, "let me entreat you to rouse up at last, etc.," to remember, that "if you persist in the steps which many of you have taken, and especially if you go on to encour-

¹ Sparks's Franklin, vol. i., p. 377.

² New York, 1774.

age the New England Fanaticks to attack the King's troops, the time can not be distant when they and you will be proclaimed Rebels and Traitors ;" " 'Havoc' will be the cry, and the dogs of war will be let loose, to tear out your vitals."

He appeals to the Episcopalians, by their fears of the heavy hands of the Independents, to beware ; and says, " Its members are instructed in their duty to Government by three Homilies on Obedience, and six against Rebellion."

Not only will Episcopalians be persecuted, if the Rebels shall succeed, but also Quakers, Dutch Reformed, Baptists, and Presbyterians, he thinks, must expect to be blotted out. " This (England) has sometimes chastised us with *Whips* ; but that (New England) would torment us with *Scorpions*."

CHAPTER XVII.

LEXINGTON.—“WE MUST FIGHT!”

GAGE SEIZES POWDER—MESSENGERS—MILITIA MARCH ON BOSTON—MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS—GENERALS AND MINUTE-MEN—CONNECTICUT APPOINTS GENERALS—“WE MUST FIGHT”—RHODE ISLAND AND PORTSMOUTH BATTERIES SEIZED—“CONCILIATORY PLAN”—THE 19TH OF APRIL—JOSEPH WARREN—PAUL REVERE—THE REGULARS MARCH—“DISPERSE, YOU VILLAINS”—THE VOLLEY—EIGHT KILLED—CONCORD—STORES DESTROYED—MRS. MOULTON—“HONEST OLD CHAP”—THE MINUTE-MEN—“FOR GOD’S SAKE, FIRE!”—“YANKEE DOODLE”—THE COUNTRY ALIVE—FIRE IN THE REAR—NOW “CHEVY CHASE”—THE BLOODY DAY—“THE IPSWICH FRIGHT”—FIRST-FRUITS—THE PEOPLE MARCH ON BOSTON—20,000—THE ASSEMBLYS MEET AND RESOLVE.

If hot in temper, General Gage was prompt in action, and was on the alert to draw the teeth of this rebellious Colony. Early in September (1774)¹ he seized the Colonial powder (some 13 tons), which was stored at Charlestown, on Quarry Hill, and among which was some private property: he refused to give up a pound of it. Bells, Bonfires, and Expresses, spread the news. Major Putnam and Colonel Charles Lee (afterward General Lee), were in Boston, and it was thought advisable to try the mettle of the people. So on the 3d of September a messenger from Putnam came riding through Connecticut, and dashing into Norwich in the afternoon, told how Gage was seizing stores, and was attacking and disarming the people.² Like rumors went abroad, and all day Sunday men were busy rubbing up fire-locks; it was computed that, before Tuesday, from twenty to thirty thousand militia were marching on Boston. But they were stopped by other messengers, for the hour had not yet come.

General Gage went forward to fortify Boston Neck, and he spiked the cannons on Fort Hill.

¹ Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*. Boston, 1849.

² Hollister's *Connecticut*, vol. ii., p. 157.

Gage had called the Massachusetts Assembly to meet on the 5th of October: before the day arrived, he countermanded the order; but the delegates came together without authority, and met as a Provincial Congress at Concord. Gage threatened them, but, adjourning to Cambridge, they defied him, and proceeded to prepare.

They appointed Preble, Ward, Pomeroy, Thomas, and Heath, Generals of their troops; they ordered the formation of Minute-men and Militia; appointed Committees of Safety and of Supplies; they sent messengers to Rhode Island, Connecticut, and to New Hampshire to secure co-operation; and they persuaded the country members to vote a sum of \$60,000 to provide munitions of war. Circular letters were sent to all clergymen, asking their prayers to avert this slavery. They met again in February (1775), and called upon the people for active co-operation. In March and April they agreed to form an army of 13,000 men, and to collect money—and requested the Select-men of the towns to pay over the Taxes to Gardner, their Treasurer.¹

Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire wrote, “Our hemisphere threatens a hurricane;” and a collision seemed at hand.

THE CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURE gave orders that the Militia should exercise through the winter: and at a special meeting held in March, appointed Colonel David Wooster, Major General, and Joseph Spencer and Israel Putnam, Brigadiers.²

About this time Patrick Henry said, “Gentlemen may cry ‘Peace! peace!’ when there is no peace. We must fight!” Major Hawley, of Northampton, had said so four months before this, and John Adams told it to Henry—Henry replied, “By God, I am of that man’s mind.”³

The inhabitants of RHODE ISLAND were ready, and im-

¹ Bradford’s Hist.

² Lossing’s Field-Book of Rev., p. 552.

³ Tudor’s Life of Otis, p. 256.

mediately concerted and carried out their first measure : they pounced upon the batteries in the harbor (Dec. 1774), and carried off 40 cannon, with stores.

At PORTSMOUTH (Dec. 14) a party, led by Captain John Langdon and Major Sullivan, assaulted the fort in Portsmouth harbor, took the garrison prisoners, and removed all the arms and stores inland, for future uses.

In England things were working in favor of the colonies. Pitt (Lord Chatham), then old and sick, crawled to the House; and, in his stirring style, appealed for the removal of the troops from Boston. The Lords heard him, but that was all—his motion was rejected overwhelmingly. But in February, Lord North proposed and passed his "Conciliatory Plan." This might once have been satisfactory; but would it now? and would it reach America in time?¹

General Gage's force of Regulars in Boston then amounted to some 3,500 men; and his officers longed to put down this scum of Yankee rebels. The Tories, too, urged him to do something for his own sake, for theirs, and for the preservation of "law and order." So, in February, he sent a detachment of troops, by water, to seize stores at Salem. But they had been removed, and Colonel Pickering, with his company, held the bridge to Danvers. One or two other excursions were made, and some wanton destruction and mischief were done.

Toward midnight on the night of April 18 [1775], Dr. Joseph Warren—the soul of the Boston Vigilance Committee—received word that eight hundred regulars were being landed at Lechmere's Point, in Cambridge, to march on Concord, where was a magazine of munitions and stores, collected there by the Committee of Supplies. Warren at once beat up Paul Revere, a splendid Boston mechanic, and sent him and William Dawes to carry the tidings to John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were at Lex-

¹ Sparks's Franklin, vol. i., p. 386.

ington. The messengers escaped all the patrols, and reached there in hot haste, gave the warning, and rode on for Concord.

Toward two o'clock, a party of the minute-men had collected on the Lexington Green, and were dismissed, with orders to keep within drum-beat.

The regulars swiftly and silently pushed along the road to Lexington, sure of surprising and destroying the stores at Concord ; but as they came near Lexington, at daylight, the sound of bells and guns told them they were foreseen. The militia hurried together in confusion, uncertain what numbers were approaching, or what they themselves were to do, except that they were to make no attack, and were to act on the defensive. Major Pitcairn rode up to them, at the head of his troops, and shouted—

“Disperse, you villains ! Lay down your arms, you rebels !”

And onward his troops pressed. The militia found themselves in the face of a strong force, and were uncertain whether to stand or disperse, when a few random shots on both sides settled it, and the regulars poured in a volley.

Eight of the minute-men were killed, and three or four of the regulars wounded. Jonathan Harrington was shot in front of his own house, from the window of which his wife saw him fall. The troops then pushed on for Concord, and the minute-men spread the alarm, and told how Parker, Muzzy, Brown, Harringtons (2), Hadley, Monroe, and Porter were shot. Captain Parker, of the Lexington Militia, deposed that he ordered his men to disperse, and that the British troops rushed in, and killed eight of them, without provocation.¹

Some of the stores had been removed from Concord before the regulars reached there ; and Colonel Barrett had had time to collect a small body of the inhabitants, to act

¹ A Narrative of the Excursion and Ravages of the King's Troops, on the 19th of April, 1775. Published by authority. Worcester, 1775.

on the defensive. But when they saw the eight hundred red-coats, with glittering arms, and bands, and banners, marching upon them (at 7 o'clock), they retired beyond the North Bridge, to wait for reinforcements.

The troops then hunted out the stores for destruction ; they threw the flour and ammunition into the mill-pond, burnt the carriages of the guns, and generally deported themselves roughly, as troops are wont to do.

They proceeded to set fire to the Court-house, in the upper part of which a great quantity of powder was hidden. Mrs. Moulton, an old woman of eighty, rushed among them and appealed to them not to destroy it wantonly, and persuaded them to put out the fire. The tavern-keeper declared they should have nothing without paying for it, and stood up to his words. One gentleman, who had charge of some flour and stores, invited the officers in and treated them handsomely ; they proceeded to break open his corn-house, when he ran for the keys and laid his hand on a bag of his own flour, saying, "Gentlemen, I am a miller, and this flour I raised on my own farm, and here I keep it for market ; so I would not have you destroy it." The officer said, "Well, you seem to be a pretty honest old chap, and don't look as though you could hurt any body much, so we won't meddle with you."¹

THE MINUTE-MEN seized their arms and came in from Carlisle, Chelmsford, Weston, Littleton, and Acton, three hundred strong, to the north side of the bridge, where Major Buttrick took the command, assisted by Lieutenant Hosmer and Captains Barrett, Brown, Miles, and Davis. Buttrick marched upon the bridge, and directed his men not to give the first fire ; not knowing what had happened at Lexington. The regulars, under command of Lawrie, retreated across the bridge, and fired a few shots ; killing Captain Davis, and one or two more ; then Buttrick shouted,

"Fire ! fellow-soldiers ; for God's sake, fire !"

So they did, and then rushed over the bridge ; Lawrie

¹ M. H. C., vol. i.

retreated, they followed. Colonel Smith ordered a retreat of the regulars along the road to Boston ; from every fence, tree, and barn, a galling fire was then poured into them, as they hastened toward Lexington.

Colonel Smith had sent a messenger for reinforcements, and Lord Percy, at the head of nine hundred men, marched out in the morning to meet him, playing “Yankee Doodle,” in derision of the bragging Yankees. These met the retreating regulars at Lexington, and after a rest, they all commenced their march to Boston. The day was hot, and the sun blazed down upon their brilliant ranks ; but the sun was not so hot that day, as the fire in the rear.

By this time, the whole country was alive, and men came pouring in along the line of retreat, mad with rage. Daniel Townsend and Timothy Munroe were firing on the British soldiers from behind a house ; Townsend said, “There’s another red-coat down,” when they discovered that the red-coats were advancing on both sides of them : they ran for their lives. Townsend was shot down at once, Munroe ran, and the balls whistled round him. One of the English soldiers cried,

“Damn the Yankee, he’s bullet-proof.”

He was shot in the leg, and there were thirty-two bullet-holes through his hat and clothes ; but he lived to a good old age.

Shot after shot was sent among the exhausted soldiers, with killing aim ; and was returned by platoon volleys. Colonel Smith was himself wounded, and his troops reached Charlestown, jaded and dispirited. Terror was visible in the faces of the inhabitants at Charlestown, who were ordered by Lord Percy to keep their houses. Some of the boys shouted to him, that probably he had better now play “Chevy Chase !”

Dr. Warren and General Heath were out, and active in directing and restraining the excited militia, who pursued the retreating column to the base of Bunker Hill,

where, at nightfall, the regulars encamped, protected by the guns of the ships.

Thus ended a day in which sixty-five British soldiers were killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners ; and of Americans, fifty were killed, and thirty-four wounded.

The sun went down, but the passions which had made the day bloody did not subside. Two nations stood against one another with arms in hand. Neither would yield, and one must ; which was it to be ? There was no Court to sit in judgment upon the question, and the sword was drawn : let that then decide it. Major Hawley and Patrick Henry had well said,

“ We must fight ! ”

The day for conciliation was past. The despised Yankees would fight.

On the 19th of April, the Lexington fight took place. On Friday afternoon, the 23d, the people of Newburyport were assembled in the Town-house to consult, and the Minister was about to open with prayer, when a man came riding through the town crying—

“ THE
IPSWICH
FRIGHT.”

“ Turn out ! turn out ! the regulars are coming ! ”

Many of the men were away to the scene of the fight, and a panic seized the people. The same news was spread, by accident or design, in all the towns from the sea-shore to the White Mountains ; and the most extraordinary things were done, for it was, “ save himself who can.” People hid their valuables, packed up some food, and ran—whither ? One man put his family into his ox-cart, and drove away to escape the dragoons ! Some left their own houses, and spent the night in others that had been deserted. A woman wrapped up her child and ran four or five miles ; when she sat down to nurse it, she found she had brought away the cat !

One old man stood in his door with his musket loaded. The fugitives asked him—

“Are you not going?”

“Going? No. I am going to stop and shoot the devils.”

The next day, it was found to be only a flying report, and the Ipswich fright subsided.¹

The bad news flew fast; into the country in all directions men rode carrying the fearful tidings. There was a shock of pity and terror, which crystallized into a fierce determination to do or die, and men grasped their muskets. Old Putnam, the boldest of men, unhitched his horse from the plow, and, at the head of his troop, marched on Boston; Arnold started with his men from New Haven, declaring that none but Almighty God should stop him; company after company followed. So it was in Massachusetts. Hastings and Child led the men of Greenfield (they volunteered to a man); Stacey the men of New Salem;² Prescott the men of Groton. John Stark marched at the head of a crowd of volunteers from New Hampshire. In three days, twenty thousand Americans had gathered around Boston, eager to fight for liberty. Their enthusiasm was yet to be tried.

General Ward took the command, and Gage was besieged in Boston by a crowd of exasperated men; and he feared also the arms of the patriots in the city. By the end of May, he had command of ten thousand regulars, officered by Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne.

The Massachusetts Congress met on the 22d of April. They drew up a narration of the “Massacre,” and sent it to England by express. They authorized the Committee of Safety to direct the troops.

On the 5th of May, they deposed General Gage; they prepared for the payment of the troops by the issue of paper money; they sent out circulars to confirm the decided and strengthen the weak; and they called upon the General Congress (to meet on the 10th May) to form a large army, and to stand firm.

¹ Coffin's Newbury.

² Holland's Western Massachusetts.

The Rhode Island Assembly voted an army of fifteen hundred men, and appointed a young Iron-master, Nathaniel Greene (Quaker-born), to the command, assisted by Varnum, Hitchcock, and Church.

Connecticut voted to raise six regiments, of a thousand each, and she did it.

New Hampshire had sent Stark ; or he had gone without being sent. She now appointed Nathan Folsom General ; Stark, Reed, and Poor, Colonels ; and agreed to raise ten thousand more troops.

Captain Barclay, in the ship Scarborough, lay in the Portsmouth harbor, and seized loaded vessels, sending their cargoes to Boston for the use of the King's forces. This excited the people, and they organized against him, seized the fort, and carried off the cannon. Governor Wentworth fled to Boston (24th Aug.), and the King's power in New Hampshire was ended.

In New York the Tories were swallowed up in the excitement ; they could not resist it.

Governor Hutchinson had said that the Americans would not fight ; and he and hundreds of other careful men had said that their Union was impossible. Their first statement had proved false ; and now, if they should unite—what then ?

CHAPTER XVIII.

TICONDEROGA.

PLAN OF CAPTURE—ETHAN ALLEN—COLONELS EASTON AND WARNER—BENEDICT ARNOLD CLAIMS THE COMMAND—THE GATES OPEN—THE AMERICANS RUSH IN—CAPTAIN DE-LAPLACE—SURRENDER—SKENESBOROUGH AND ST. JOHNS TAKEN—CROWN POINT ALSO.

THE first blow in a long struggle had been struck, and the Connecticut men, led by Putnam, had turned their plowshares into swords. Some of the thinking heads then turned their eyes along the Northern border, and saw Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and St. Johns, on Lake Champlain, in the hands of English garrisons, and feebly defended. In secrecy Parsons, Deane, Wooster, and a few others, concocted a plan for surprising those fortresses, and at once put it into action. They borrowed of the Connecticut Treasury some 1,800 dollars, and enlisted Mott and Phelps of Hartford, and Blagden of Salisbury, to beat up recruits. With these they went northward, and at Pittsfield got the co-operation of Captains Easton and Brown. No time was to be lost, and they pushed on with some forty men to find that Vermont giant, Ethan Allen, at Bennington.

Allen at once agreed to go ; he sought out Seth Warner, and roused the "Green Mountain Boys," who were mostly Connecticut and Massachusetts men ; so that, in a few days, there gathered at Castleton (7th of May, 1775) two hundred and seventy strong men. Allen was their first leader, Easton second, and Warner third. Their larger body was to cross the Lake in boats from Shoreham, and surprise "Ty." Captain Herrick, with

thirty men, was to seize the pass of Skenesborough (now Whitehall) at the head of the Lake, and Captain Douglass¹ was to search for and seize all boats and batteaux. While these things were in progress, the ambitious, active, and daring Benedict Arnold heard of this expedition, and at once got leave from the Committee of Safety at Cambridge, to lead it. He rode post-haste through Massachusetts to raise men, and, with a single follower, reached Castleton, and claimed the command. These rough cubs of the forest could not well understand why he should lead them, for had they not Allen, and Warner, and Easton, and Phelps, and Biggelow, and others? But they consented that he should join Allen as an equal; and so forward they went.

On the 8th of May Captain Noah Phelps, disguised with rough farmer clothes, and a long beard, blundered into the fort at Ticonderoga, pretending he wanted to be shaved. He found the gates open, and discipline loose; for no telegraph had carried the Lexington news to them, nor had the winds wafted the smell of blood, or the sounds of muskets there.

When the darkness was deepest on the night of the ninth, Allen and Arnold, with 83 men, pulled across the Lake, landed near the fort, and then sent back the boats for Warner and his men. They had a boy, Nathan Beman, for a guide, and were full of courage. Allen formed his men, made them a little speech, and all was ready, when the question arose as to who should have the honor of entering the fort first. The dispute was warm between Arnold and Allen, but was finally quieted; and, side by side, at daylight, they rushed through the gate of the fort, defended only by sleeping men. The sentinel snapped his musket, and ran, giving the alarm; the garrison hastily turned out, to find themselves in the face of superior numbers. Allen sought and found the Commander's bed-room, and when Captain Delaplace

¹ Drylas?

waked, he saw any thing but an Angel of Mercy with white wings.

Delaplace opened the door, with trowsers in hand, and there the great gaunt Ethan stood, with a drawn sword in his hand.

“Surrender !” said Ethan.

“To you ?” asked Delaplace.

“Yes, to me, Ethan Allen.”

“By whose authority ?” asked Laplace.

Ethan was growing impatient, and raising his voice, and waving his sword, he said :

“In the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress, by God !”¹

Delaplace little comprehended the words, but surrendered at once.

Thus, on the morning of the 10th of May, the strong fortress of Ticonderoga was taken by the border-men, and with it forty-four prisoners, one hundred and twenty iron cannon, with swivels, muskets, balls, and some powder, without the loss of a single man. The surprise was planned and paid for by Connecticut, and was led by Allen, a Connecticut-born man, but was carried out by the “Green Mountain Boys.”

Skenesborough (Whitehall) was surprised and seized, while Major Skene was out shooting. Arnold at once manned a schooner, taken at Skenesborough, and led an attack against an armed sloop at St. John’s ; he took her and the place, and returned in triumph to meet Allen, who, in batteaux, was coming to sustain him.

Warner led a party against Crown Point, and took it, with its hundred cannon, and small garrison of 12 men.

News of these things was carried to the Continental Congress, reassembled at Philadelphia, which caused almost as much surprise there, as Allen’s demand did to Captain Delaplace, and more exultation. They requested the Committees of Safety of New York and Albany, to

¹ Lossing, vol. i., p. 125.

have an inventory made of the stores, so that they might be returned "when the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies" should render it safe.

CHAPTER XIX.

"THE SONS OF LIBERTY."

BARRÉ'S SPEECH—THE CLUBS FORM—PAUL REVERE—WILLIAM PRESCOTT—JOSEPH WARREN—ISRAEL PUTNAM—ROBERT DURKEE—JOHN STARK—NATHANIEL GREENE.

WORDS are sometimes magical, and like the electric fire, shake the earth. No words during the American Revolution, moved the hearts of the American people more than this phrase, "The Sons of Liberty," applied to them in Parliament by Colonel Barré, for they incited to DEEDS. The men were mostly farmers and mechanics, and living so long a free open-air life, they were not weakened by fears which disturb a closely-packed population, nor were they debauched by that passion for money, which prevails in a purely mercantile community, or by the love of "place" and power which demoralize a King's court. Therefore, when Barré boldly asserted in the ears of Ministers in Parliament :—

"The sons of liberty have bravely taken up arms in *your* defence !"—he said but the truth, and the people, remembering the many and long wars with French and Indians, knew it. The words went like lightning through New England, and across her borders, into New York and Pennsylvania. They accepted the Baptism, and from that day forth knew themselves, and were known by others, as—

"SONS OF LIBERTY."

The name became to them as a standard ; and all over New England, in workshops and hamlets, in the sheltered

valleys, and on the rugged hill-sides, wherever a few men could gather, they called themselves "Sons of Liberty," and swore with one another, that they would be true to their principles and to themselves. These clubs became the mysterious power of the State; and when work or fighting was to be done, they did it. The Spirit of Liberty—which is the breath of God—inspired men, who otherwise might have lived and died in stupidity, not knowing their own power, or capacity. For without Freedom, men are little more than machines for Kings to command, or slaves for courtiers to ride.

A few only, among the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, can be noticed here, though thousands deserve both praise and gratitude.

As early as 1765, "The Sons of Liberty" sent an Address to John Wilkes, who then represented the cause of Liberty in England. To one of the communications were signed the names of James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Richard Dana, Benjamin Kent, John Adams, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, Thomas Young, and Josiah Quincy, jr.¹

Most of these are noticed elsewhere, and, of course, need no space here.

Among the most active of the Sons of Liberty, was Paul Revere.

PAUL
REVERE.

In the fall and winter of 1774-5, some of the best Boston mechanics formed themselves into a club, to watch the doings of the British soldiers. They were "high Sons of Liberty," and men of action, who met at the Green-Dragon Tavern; and every man swore on the Bible, that nothing should be revealed except to Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Dr. Warren, and Dr. Church. But even in this small band was one traitor, afterward discovered—Dr. Church.

A leading man in this Club was Revere. Two of them every night patrolled the streets, to watch any movements

¹ Palfrey's Life of Palfrey, Sparks's Am. Biog.

of troops ; and on the night of the 18th of April, soldiers were discovered marching toward the Common. It was 10 o'clock when Dr. Warren sent for Revere, and requested him to start in haste to tell Hancock and Adams—who were staying with the minister Clark, at Lexington—that danger threatened them and the stores collected at Concord. He hurried to his boat at the North End, pulled across to Charlestown, procured a horse from Deacon Larkin, and galloped out on the road to Lexington. But it was not easy to do his work : he was met and chased by mounted patrols, all of which he escaped. He waked the "minute-men" along the road, and at last reached Lexington, in time to warn Hancock and Adams. Then he hastened on with young Doctor Prescott, to warn the people of Concord ; but both were taken prisoners by the British patrols, and brought back to Lexington.¹

Paul Revere was of Huguenot parentage, and born in 1734, was at that time (1774) forty years old. By trade he was a goldsmith, and, in the practice of his trade, had taught himself to be an engraver. Some of his works are still extant, mostly broad political prints and caricatures. In 1766, appeared a print ridiculing the Stamp Act. In 1768, a print of the Devil and the "Seventeen Rescind-ers" (see chap. xiii). The Devil says, "Now, I've got a fine haul, by Jove !" The "17" are led by Timothy Ruggles, who is pricked on by another imp, who says, "Push along, Tim." In 1770, he made an effective print of the "Massacre of the 5th of March."²

He had been enlisted in the French wars of 1756, and had smelt powder. After the Revolution, he engaged in the manufacture of brass cannon, bells, etc. ; and, through a long life of industry and integrity, accumulated a handsome fortune. He died in 1818.

But besides Revere, there was a host of others in Boston : such men as Mackintosh, and Crafts, and Eades,

¹ Paul Revere's Letter in M. H. Coll., vol. v.

² New England Mag., vol. iii.

and Cheverly, working mechanics and sailors, who feared not death so much as the loss of liberty.

WILLIAM PRESCOTT, a foremost man among them, was born in the little town of Groton, Massachusetts ; where, among the trees, he had room to grow both in mind and body ; and he stood six feet three in his shoes, but unlike some big men, he had a heart in proportion, and it beat for liberty. His friends and neighbors rallied to him, when the British red-coats, obeying the orders of the British Ministry to enforce their illegal taxes, shed the first blood in Boston, and asked—

“ What shall we do ? ”

The time had not come for action ; but it did come, and then he went with them to the defense of Massachusetts. Col. Prescott had seen service in the French wars, and the command of the expedition to fortify and keep Bunker Hill (see ch. xx.) was given to him. He did his work well, and retired defeated, not disgraced, after a hard fight, among the last of his men. He went with Washington and the army to New York, and served with General Gates at the capture of Burgoyne.

No name of our early history is more honored than that of Joseph Warren. He was a farmer's boy, and grew up to do a true man's work. Dr. Warren was thirty-four years old when the fight at Lexington roused the patriots of New England. He belonged to the class of bold patriots, not of moderate Whigs ; and since the destruction of the tea (1766), had divided his time between his business and his love of country. He had been the leading spirit in the “ Caucus—pro bono publico,” which sat at the north end of Boston ; in which public business was discussed and shaped, and where the plans of the “ Sons of Liberty ” were matured. He was quick-seeing, ardent, impatient ; yet with a fine judgment and sense of propriety, which gave him great influence with the slow, as well as with the impetuous ; he was that rare man who could do what he agreed

JOSEPH
WARREN.

to do, if man could do it ; and what was more, he would do it—he could be trusted. He was always on the alert, and the man of all others, at this crisis, to watch the movements of the British, and to circumvent them. It was he who discovered the march of troops to Lexington, and sent off Revere and Dawes at midnight to warn John Hancock and Samuel Adams. It was he who sent messengers in all directions to rouse the people, and it was he who, with General Heath, went out to meet the British troops on their return, and made them pay dear for what they had done. It was he who not only roused the Sons of Liberty, but organized them for action ; and when the day of Bunker Hill came, although he had advised against the movement on the part of the Americans, he did not hesitate to go among them and serve as a volunteer in that hot fight, where he lost his life.

Warren was not an actor only, but a thinker and a speaker, and his orations are full of the energy of a daring mind. He was superior to the fears of Great Britain, and he despised the supplicating tone which the timid and money-seeking in Boston indulged in. He felt and he said, that Great Britain might destroy our seaports, but better that than our liberties. He was right ; and Warren is a noble example of a young man who in the flush of life was infinitely wiser than the timid wisdom of age. We may well question the proverb, "In years is wisdom." It is in the strength and glory of Manhood, when *all* the faculties of mind and body are in full vigor and working harmoniously, that men are wisest. In the gristle of youth, men are rash ; in the decay of age, they are weak ; and he who trusts a broken-down man will lean on a broken reed. Men ought to be vigorous, active, and hopeful at seventy, and when they are so, then they may be trusted ; but such cases are rare. The mistakes of youth are not more dangerous than the mistakes of age ; and could the early counsels of the young Warren have prevailed, much blood and treasure might have been saved.

The death of Warren at the early age of thirty-five, was a severe loss to the Rebel cause, and a sharp grief to his friends and family. But Congress, not unmindful of his merits and his sacrifice, undertook the education of his four children, and Boston not only raised a monument over his remains, but cherishes his memory among the wise, the good, and the daring.

ISRAEL PUTNAM was among the oldest of "The Sons of Liberty," and among the bravest. It was well said of him, "that he dared lead where any dared follow;" and indeed this daring was his fault, for it led him sometimes to rashness. He was a farmer at Pomfret, in Connecticut, and his exploits at wolf-killing and bear-hunting are known to every schoolboy in America. He was not only a hard-working farmer, but early enlisted in the French wars, and became a hard-fighting soldier. In 1755, he was a part of General Lyman's Connecticut Regiment, and at the head of his Rangers, did good service in the campaign where the French were led by Dieskau. His associates were such men as Rogers, Stark, and Pomeroy, men of courage and action. Through '55 and '56, Putnam was in active service at the head of the "Rangers," then he returned to his family and to his farm.

In 1757 he was again on duty, near lake Champlain, and arrived at Fort William Henry the day after the massacre of Colonel Munroe's troops, and the burning of the fort.¹

In 1758, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, who exulted over their prize. When they retreated, they carried him off toward Canada, and, safe from pursuit, prepared to put an end to the old fighter. He was tied to a tree, in a sheltered quiet valley, where nature lay in repose, and where birds built their nests, and squirrels sprang from tree to tree. At first he thought he was to be abandoned, left there to perish; but that fear soon gave place to a greater danger. The savages piled dried barks and wood

¹ See vol. ii., p. 103.

around him, and soon he saw one with fire in hand, apply the torch to the pile. Then Putnam knew that his hour was come, but he had held his life in his hand before, and he closed his eyes to shut out the smoke. He felt the heat upon his bronzed face, and then heard a shout, and saw a figure with streaming hair, dash aside the burning faggots, and cut his bonds. It was the French leader, Molang, who knew how to value the life of a brave man, though an enemy. He rescued him, and carried him prisoner to Montreal, where he was exchanged, and again he returned to his family and farm.

In 1760 he was in the campaign against Canada, when every French post was taken or surrendered. Once more he returned to his farm and home ; to be again called upon in 1762, to embark in an expedition against Havana. Then on his return, Colonel Putnam was sent with Connecticut troops to relieve the western posts attacked by Pontiac and the Indian tribes.

After so many years of Border warfare, Putnam was known and honored among the New England people, as a man of generous and manly impulses, and when they saw the plot to enslave them, in which the Stamp-tax was the first step, the yeomanry of the Colony joined him in resistance. He was one of the boldest among the Sons of Liberty, and roused them to resist Ingersoll and the whole British power behind him.¹

Action ! Action ! was his life ; he was ready when there was work to be done, and deservedly commanded the esteem of Washington. Perhaps, no officer of the Revolutionary army so much warmed up the cool temperament of the Commander-in-chief, and to none was he so familiar and genial. It was common for him to speak of Putnam in conversation and in his letters as "Old Put.," and he knew well his value. During the night and day of Bunker Hill, Putnam worked like a lion ; he cheered the men, he directed the embankments on Bunker Hill, he hastened up

¹ See ch. xiii., vol. ii.

the reinforcements, he worked the guns ; and in the panic and disastrous retreat he swore roundly at the men.

"What are you 'fraid of ?" he once asked of some raw troops who hung back. "Are you afraid of being shot ? Come on, fear nothing, for we have sent so many red-coats to hell, that you can't get in there ; their tails stick out o' the windows."

His own daring and bravery inspired men with courage, and no partizan leader could more certainly command success. He belongs to a class, which the trim inhabitant of cities knows nothing of, which the courtly young gentleman, anxious about "deportment," will be apt to despise. He was a strong, rough, honest, and brave man, and not to be judged rightly by those who have lost those sterling virtues. It is well to know that the race is not extinct, but that all over New England they yet live, and when again the emergency comes, will be ready to meet it.

ROBERT DURKEE, a "Bold Bean-hill man," was one of Putnam's companions and friends ; he enlisted in all brave enterprises with the same hardihood, and generous sacrifice of self, which distinguished Putnam. In the Border Service around Lake Champlain, Durkee had been engaged, and he knew danger as a companion, if not a friend. He could tell, as Putnam could, of many a hair-breadth 'scape from the bullets and scalping-knife of Indians ; and when "The Sons of Liberty" saw that the time had come to defend themselves against the British, as they had defended themselves against the French, Durkee was ready. He led the band of 500 horsemen against Stamp Master Ingersoll, determined that no stamps should be sold in Connecticut, and that no Stamp Master should disgrace the Colony. He was actively engaged during the war, and perished fearfully in 1778. At the battle of Wyoming he was in the thick of the contest, was wounded and made prisoner. The Indians knew him, and upon him they spent their vengeance. He was tied to a tree and roasted to death, far from friends, and surrounded by savages.

JOHN STARK was New Hampshire born, of Scotch parents, who had lived in the North of Ireland. They settled first in Maine, and afterward at Manchester New Hampshire ; but being on the Border they were subject to Border life, to attacks of Indians, and to dangers from wild beasts. Young Stark was a Hunter and a Ranger by nature and by necessity ; and in 1752, when 24 years old, he was made prisoner by the Indians, and forced to run the gauntlet ; but he seized a club and laid about him so well, that he escaped with little damage. For some time he was prisoner among the St. Francis Indians, and learned their ways. Through the Seven Years' War, he was active as one of Major Roger's Rangers, and through many a night, with only a blanket around him and a heap of snow for his pillow, he slept well. After 1760, Stark retired from active service, and attended to his farm : in common with nearly all the provincial officers and men, he experienced that contempt which the young martinets of the British forces felt and expressed for their rough ways, ragged clothes, and "swamp-law" manners ; and he was willing to let them try the work themselves. With rude good sense, Stark early perceived the designs of the British Ministry in taxing and governing the Colonies, and chose the side of the Colonies ; but his brother, William Stark, as well as Major Rogers, both took the other side.

He was among the early "Sons of Liberty," and with his military experience, was of great service in bringing men up to the standard of the times. Within ten minutes of the receipt of the news of the slaughter at Lexington, Stark was on his way to do his work ; and in a few days 1,200 New Hampshire men joined him near Boston. He was unanimously elected their first Colonel, and carried them steadily and coolly into the Bunker Hill fight. Through the war he enjoyed the confidence of Washington and of the people of New Hampshire, and when New Hampshire determined to send out a force to protect the Northern frontier on her own account, and John Langdon,

the generous Portsmouth Merchant, said, "I have \$3,000 in hard money, and I will pledge my plate and my merchandise for more"—so that this expedition could be set on foot—John Stark was chosen to the command. It was while on this independent expedition that he met the British, Hessians, and Indians, under Colonel Baum. It was then that he told his men—they must beat the enemy, or "Molly Stark would be a widow that night!" It was then that they beat the enemy, and won the battle of Bennington (Aug. 16th, 1777). In the night before the battle, a minister, who led some volunteers from Berkshire, came to Stark with this communication :

"We, the people of Berkshire, have been frequently called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never to turn out again."

Stark looked at him for a moment, in some doubt whether this was a piece of border fun or not—but he said :

"You don't care to go out now, when it's dark and rainy—do you?"

"No, not particular."

"Well, then," said Stark, "if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come out again."¹

With such troops, Stark could not help winning the battle.

Thenceforward he was reinstated in his rank in the regular army, and served in various battles till the close of the war : and it is singular that through all his engagements, he received no wound. He lived honorably, and died full of years in 1822.

NATHANIEL GREENE, the young Quaker blacksmith of Potowhommet, in Rhode Island, came to positions of singular honor and responsibility. It is impossible here to speak of his life in detail, nor is it necessary; but few now doubt that his talents and character placed him at the

¹ Everett's Life of Stark. Sparks's Biog.

head of the military leaders of the Revolution ; no man among them was his superior in the combination of head and hand. What the head planned, the hand knew how to execute ; and such men teach us to trust less in education and drill, and more in talent, determination, and an honest purpose. The doings of "the Sons of Liberty" seem first to have roused young Greene to an interest in the coming contest ; and once interested, he saw where the right was, and laid hold of it. In 1770, then twenty-eight years old, he was chosen to the General Assembly of the colony, where he was free to speak the sentiments that were growing in his mind ; and when "the Sons of Liberty" burned the *Gaspee*, he did not fear to praise the deed. Nothing could excite more surprise or grief among his Quaker friends, and they set upon him to convince him of his errors. When he would not be convinced, no course was left but to expel him from among the faithful, which was done. The Quaker meeting lost an honored member, and the Kentish Guards gained one ; and Greene changed the broad-brim of a Friend for the cocked-hat of a Soldier. When the tidings of the first blood of Lexington went forth on the wings of the wind, Greene at once started for Cambridge, and the next year was appointed to command the Rhode Island troops. Throughout the War he was engaged in the most responsible and active service, and where other men failed, he was sent to conquer success. Such was particularly true in the Southern colonies, where the Tory interest was strong, and the Republican cause weak. Yet, even there, Greene was the victor. He died in the prime of his manhood (1786), having lived but 44 years—but in those years he had *done* much.¹

¹ See his Life, by G. W. Greene.

CHAPTER XX.

BUNKER HILL.

SATURDAY, 17TH OF JUNE, 1775.

THE NIGHT OF JUNE 16—THE 1,200—PRESCOTT—THE MARCH—BOSTON BESIEGED—NIGHT VIEW—MIDNIGHT ON BREED'S HILL—MORNING VIEW—"WILL PRESCOTT FIGHT?"—AT NOON—POMEROY, WARREN, AND PUTNAM—THE BREASTWORK AND RAIL FENCE—HEADS OR LEGS—POSITION OF THE REBELS—ROOFS AND HILLSIDES CROWDED—3 O'CLOCK—THE RED-COATS LAND—PUTNAM'S ORDERS, "FIRE LOW"—THE RED-COATS MARCH—SILENCE IN THE REDOUBT—"FIRE!"—AGAIN "FIRE!"—CHARLESTOWN IN FLAMES—THE SECOND ATTACK—REPULSE—"AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET"—NO POWDER!—THE ASSAULT—HAND-TO-HAND—RETREAT—THE SLAUGHTER—5 O'CLOCK—THE REBELS DEFEATED—WHERE WAS WARREN?—MEMORIES.

GENERAL GAGE lay with his troops in Boston town, and around the city were the camps of the Volunteers, who had seized their muskets, and hurried to the American quarters. They were a rude and undisciplined crowd, full of strength, courage, and enthusiasm, and the first business of the officers was to institute rules, and secure obedience. The general orders of June 14, provided—that the troops be quiet after nine o'clock at night; that all grog-shops be suppressed, and that their liquors be staved, if necessary; that officers and men attend prayer morning and evening, and service on the Lord's Day.¹

So eager were the men for action, and so confident of their strength, that they urged an attack. As it was known that the English were preparing to break the American lines, to secure supplies from the country, some of the leaders were ready to take the initiative, and by an attack upon Boston, keep them at home. Putnam pressed this plan, and it was decided that something should be attempted and done.

¹ From General Ward's Orderly Book. Ward's Shrewsbury.

On the night of the 16th of June, 1775, twelve hundred men, Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, were collected on Cambridge Green. There was no sound of drum, for they were to march in secret ; each man rested on his musket, and with head uncovered, listened to the clear voice of Minister Langdon,¹ whose prayer composed their spirits, and moved their hearts. Few knew what they were to do, but they were ready for a march of danger ; and silently and swiftly they followed their leader, Colonel William Prescott, a stalwart Groton man. They passed on northward, and halted to reconnoiter at the narrow neck, between Charles and Mystic Rivers, which joins Charlestown to the main land ; hastening across, they reached Bunker Hill (110 feet high), where the officers held a consultation.

The purpose in hand was to throw up intrenchments on this hill, so as to command the City, and thus check the plans of General Gage, who was bent upon a sortie. The Boston promontory is almost surrounded with water, and on it Gage, with his 10,000 picked troops, was cooped up, cut off from all country supplies by the army which lay out around him. Colonel Lemuel Robinson, with some 700 men, kept the pass over Boston Neck ; he had been in his clothes for nine days and nights. General Thomas commanded at Roxbury ; Colonels Stark and Reed were at Medford with the New Hampshire men ; while the main body of the Americans² lay at Cambridge, under the command of General Ward, assisted by Putnam. Nigh half the inhabitants of Boston (then numbering some 17,000) had removed, and five thousand of the poorer sort were sent away, and distributed among the inland towns. Gage, afraid of those remaining, compelled them to give up their arms ; the Tories too, remonstrated against allowing any more people or goods to

¹ President of Harvard College.

² The whole force on 10th June was 7,644 men.—*Gordon*.

pass out, believing their presence in the town would serve as a check upon any attack.

Both the Regulars and Provincials had been busy for some weeks collecting cattle and provisions from the shores and islands ; they had had skirmishes enough to warm their blood, and both parties felt defiant.

From Bunker Hill, Putnam, Prescott, Brooks, Gridley, and the other officers, overlooked the Charlestown shores, and Boston town lying asleep before them ; they could hear the dull challenge of the sentinels—"All's-well—All's-well." Time was pressing, so they hastily concluded to begin their works on Breed's Hill, which was on the peninsula nearer to Boston. At midnight Gridley marked out the lines, and every man set to work with pick and shovel. When daylight dawned on the water, it revealed to the astonished eyes of the British soldiers a strong redoubt, crowning the green hill-top. The "Lively" sloop of war at once opened her guns upon the fort, and roused the sleeping people of Boston. General Gage saw that the redoubt commanded the city, and that with its guns he could be bombarded. He immediately called a council of war, and it was decided that the Americans must be dislodged. He asked of Willard, who recognized Prescott, "Will he fight?"

"To the last drop of his blood," was the reply. "Then he must be driven back," said Gage. The guns from the "Falcon," the "Lively," the "Glasgow," the "Somerset," and the "Cerberus," and from Copp's Hill (in the north of Boston), continued to play ; and the Americans continued to work at their intrenchments—till toward noon they sent off their tools, took some refreshment, and run up their flag. They were exhausted with a long night of hard work, but were determined to maintain their ground. At first Colonel Prescott thought the attack would not be made upon them ; but the rattle of gun-carriages, and the sound of marching troops, told him the enemy was coming ; toward nine o'clock Putnam galloped away to

General Ward for reinforcements. Ward, thinking the attack might be made upon the center at Cambridge, and afraid of weakening the more important positions, ordered forward a portion of Stark's New Hampshire regiment ; and, upon the urgency of General Putnam at mid-day, the whole of that and of Colonel Reed's corps, to reinforce Prescott. The day was hot, and Prescott's men were spent with fatigue. The cannonade upon them was heavy, and waiting was fearful ; but when, about two o'clock, Stark steadily marched his troops across the Neck to the tune of Yankee Doodle, their flagging spirits revived ; and when General Pomeroy and the young and beloved Warren came among them as volunteers, they sent up cheer after cheer, which sounded even to the ears of the Red-coats in Boston. The sturdy and active old Putnam was indefatigable everywhere ; he had the confidence of the men, and what he said, they believed ; where he led, they followed. He had advocated this attempt in the Council, and now he worked hard. He ordered a breast-work to be built on Bunker Hill, and rode from place to place, encouraging the untried raw troops : he could not be idle.

Captain Knowlton formed a breastwork on the north side of the redoubt to defend its rear ; and when Stark arrived, they ran up beyond this a rail fence, alongside a stone fence, and filled it in with new-mown hay ; for Putnam said,

"The Americans are not afraid of their heads, but their legs. Cover their legs, and they'll fight like devils."

Colonel Prescott commanded in the redoubt ; Captain Knowlton, Colonels Stark and Reed, with the Connecticut and New Hampshire troops, held the breastwork and the fence. Callender and the younger Gridley, with six field-pieces, were at the redoubt. Captain Manners and some men lay behind a rail fence on the right, toward Charlestown. Some of the Connecticut and New Hamp-

shire men were at work at Bunker Hill. "Old Put" was wherever there was work or danger.

The defenses were all hasty and imperfect, and among the undisciplined provincials was doubt and confusion ; but there was none in the minds of Putnam, Prescott, Knowlton, Stark, Reed, and other leaders. Minister McClintock was with Stark's men, encouraging them with prayers and brave exhortations. It was thought in those fighting days that New England ministers were good out of the pulpit as well as in it.

Every roof and steeple in Boston was crowded with spectators ; men, women, and children looked on with dreadful earnestness ; for husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons, were to meet in deadly battle ; every hill-top too, was fringed with anxious people. They saw the regulars land at Morton's Point, and form into line, three thousand choice troops of the English army ; they heard the furious cannonade from the ships and forts, but no reply from the American lines. At three o'clock, they saw the solid columns of English soldiers, with powdered heads and glittering bayonets, led by Lord Howe on the right, and by General Pigott on the left, slowly advancing up the slope of the hill, under cover of a cannonade from the ships, and of discharges from their own artillery.

It was a splendid and fearful sight.

Few of the American troops had ever seen soldiers or snuffed a battle. Prescott ordered his men to keep close in the redoubt, and not to fire a shot till he gave the word, and then to aim low. Putnam rode along the lines, and said to the men—

"Wait till you see the whites of their eyes. Aim at the waistbands ; pick off the handsome coats. Steady, my lads !"¹

Stark, Knowlton, Pomeroy, and other officers, gave the same orders.

Gridley and Callender were sent with their field-pieces

¹ Swett's Sketch of the Bunker Hill Battle. Boston : 1827.

to defend the gap between the redoubt and the rail fence, but were soon silenced, and Callender retreated over Bunker Hill. Putnam ordered him to return ; and, later in the battle, some of Captain Ford's raw troops, with the assistance of Putnam, got his guns into line at the fence ; there Putnam got off his white horse, and, without coat or hat, helped to work them, for the new men knew nothing of artillery.

Pigott's splendid troops marched steadily up the hill, and as they neared the redoubt, began to fire random volleys ; but the Americans were silent. As they neared the intrenchments, a few shots were heard ; they came nearer, and when within eight rods of the redoubt, Col. Prescott shouted—

“ Fire ! ”

A sheet of flame flashed along the face of the embankment, and when the smoke cleared away, it showed the dreadful work. Whole ranks of the British soldiers were mown down, and lay in heaps, the dead and the wounded together. But the iron discipline of English soldiers kept them steady, and they advanced to be again mown down.

On the right, Lord Howe led his troops against the fence breastwork. Putnam aimed some of the cannon, and saw that the discharges cut their way through the advancing columns. A few of the Provincials impatiently shot off their muskets, when Putnam rushed to them, and swore that he would cut down the first man who fired without the word. When Lord Howe's columns were within a hundred yards of the works, the order was given—

“ Fire ! ”

There, too, the rattling volley carried death and confusion to the solid ranks. Nearly the whole of the front line was destroyed. The Americans hurrahed, and some leaped the breastwork, to charge the wavering troops, but were called back. Pigott's division, on the left, retreated, and a defiant shout rang out from the rebel fort.

General Gage saw this check, and ordered Charlestown to be fired, and the conflagration increased the confusion. Putnam galloped to the rear, to hasten up reinforcements ; but many would not cross the Neck, swept as it was by grape and chain-shot, from the guns of a floating battery, and many were afraid to plunge into such a chaos. He rode across the Neck ; he ordered, he appealed, he threatened, he taunted, he swore ; but only a few would follow. He found all in disorder at Bunker Hill ; discipline gone, and squads of men, without leaders, moving off, with no purpose but their own safety. In disgust and rage, he again sought the lines on Breed's Hill, where all were staunch.

Under cover of the distraction produced by the conflagration, Howe and Pigott led both their divisions to a second attack. Again, the sure aim of the marksmen destroyed them. Officers and soldiers could not stand before the deadly muskets of the Provincials.

The ground was strewn with dead—

Nearly all Howe's aids were down—

Again their broken ranks reeled and retreated before this mob of wood-men.

An ill-suppressed murmur of congratulation passed along the American crowd in Boston, at this stern defense. Gage was covered with mortification at this second repulse, and General Clinton came across in haste from Boston, to reorganize the dismayed troops. Generals Howe and Pigott, with every officer, determined to die to the last man, rather than suffer defeat. They re-formed their shattered ranks, re-posted their artillery, so that the breastwork was turned, and gave the order, "That the redoubt should be carried at the point of the bayonet."

Prescott's men were hot with enthusiastic courage, and shouted,

"Let the Red-coats come on ! Hurrah ! Hurrah ! Hurrah !"

But now a startling rumor ran along their ranks :

“There is no more powder !”

What was to be done ; for few of their muskets were armed with bayonets ? Prescott determined to hold his position, if it could be held. He encouraged his men, and distributed the last powder, saying—

“Let every shot tell !”

The honor of the British army was at stake. The soldiers were led and driven up to the third attack. Clinton and Pigott led the left, and Howe the right, as before. His artillery raked the breastwork, and Prescott saw that he could not maintain the fort ; but he held on, and gave one more murderous discharge ; when his ammunition was spent.

Pigott and his troops came on steadily and scaled the ramparts, and then, in the redoubt, went on a hand-to-hand fight, man to man, bayonets against clubbed muskets. Every man fought for his life. When the British troops came over the ramparts, the struggle was desperate. Edward Brown stood side by side with Gershom Smith, in the intrenchments. Brown saw his danger, discharged his own and Smith's gun. “When they came so close as to push over our small breastwork,” says Webb, “Brown sprang, seized a Regular's gun, took it from him, and killed him on the spot ; brought off the gun in triumph, and has it now with him.”¹ Then Prescott gave the word, and slowly the Provincials retreated from the fort they had defended so well. The British soldiers cheered, formed, and poured a volley into their retreating foes. The troops and Tories in Boston answered with a shout ; while among the Americans, there and on the hillsides, the silence was that of sorrow, mingled with tears.

Stark, Reed, and Knowlton, bravely stood their ground at the Grass Fence, and saved the retreat from being a complete destruction. In great disorder, the flying troops poured over Bunker Hill, followed by the Regulars. Putnam and Pomery vainly endeavored to rally them for a

¹ Lieutenant Webb's Letter to Silas Deane, July 11, 1775.

stand there ; Putnam swore at the disorganized men till he was hoarse ; but it was useless. They rushed over the hill, and across the Neck, till some fresh Connecticut troops came up in time to cover their retreat. It was at Bunker Hill that the slaughter of the Americans was greatest, for the breastwork there was not sufficient for protection. One only, of the six field-pieces was saved, by Captain Trevett. By five o'clock the battle was over, and the British troops encamped on Bunker Hill in triumph. A wounded Negro at the Rail Fence, lay on the ground, and loaded both guns for Aaron Smith, of Shrewsbury, who shot them at the British. In the retreat, Smith carried off the Negro on his back, but was at last obliged to leave him.

The Americans were driven back, defeated ; but it was a splendid defeat. The raw Provincials had stood up against the best-trained soldiers of Europe, and only yielded when their powder failed.

The battle was ended, and what had it cost ?

Where were Abercromby, and Pitcairn, and Spendlove, and nineteen British officers ? Dead.

Where were seventy more officers and nine hundred stalwart British soldiers ? Wounded, dying, or dead.

Where were four hundred and fifty hard-handed, strong-hearted Sons of New England ? Wounded, dying, or dead, on the fields of Bunker Hill.

Where was WARREN,¹ that single-hearted, active, resolute man ? He lay along the green hill-side : a bullet had pierced that fine brain. He died as Hampden died, in the first battle, and in the front rank. Where were Gardner, of Cambridge ; Parker, of Chelmsford ; Moore, and McClary ? All dead ; they had offered themselves in defense of their Rights, and had lost life—perhaps Liberty.

But “ better to die Freemen, than to live Slaves ! ” So they thought, and so they died, and their children love

¹ He was then thirty-five years old, was President of the Provincial Congress, and had just been made a Major-General.

their memory, and honor their graves. The Americans died in defense of Liberty, the brave English soldiers died because they were hired to fight and die for a shilling a day ; they had no quarrel with their American brothers, but they were loyal to their shillings, and fought well.

There were faint-hearted men and cowards among the Americans that day, but why dwell upon that ?¹ Had not most of them fought nobly, sternly ? Prescott begged hard to be allowed to re-take the fort, and none among the American leaders then claimed the honors of the day. Yet now they loom large in our memory, and the 17th day of June, is a high day wherever men long for Liberty ; and so long as Americans are true to the principles of their fathers, their hearts will swell and their pulses beat strong, when they hear the name of BUNKER HILL.

¹ Callender, Gridley, and Mansfield, were dismissed, but the two former retrieved their reputations as brave men.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SECOND MEETING OF CONGRESS.

THE PROCESSION ENTERS PHILADELPHIA—HANCOCK, SPEAKER—THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—RESOLVES—WASHINGTON COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—OTHER GENERALS APPOINTED—"THE OLD THIRTEEN"—THEY REASSEMBLE.

THE Congress was about to come together for the second time, for danger seemed imminent. About that time (May 6, 1775), Dr. Franklin arrived from England, and was received with enthusiastic joy, for his experience and judgment were relied on by the whole people. On the 10th of May, a large delegation went out from Philadelphia several miles to meet the Delegates from the eastern Colonies. The procession re-entered the city, led by military officers, and some two hundred horsemen; then came Samuel Adams and John Hancock, in a phaeton and pair; the latter looking, as the Tory Curwen said, as if "solicitude to support the dignity of the first man in Massachusetts had impaired his health;" then came John Adams and Thomas Cushing, "in a one-horse chaise;" then Robert Treat Paine, and the Delegates from New York and Connecticut, followed by a long cavalcade of carriages and people. The whole city of Philadelphia was on the pavement, to see them as they rode slowly through the streets, welcomed by the chiming of bells, and the shouts of the multitude.

They convened on the same day, and Peyton Randolph, as before, took the chair. Being soon called home, he shortly died, and John Hancock, the Boston merchant, was called to preside.

What was the condition of things ?

The Petitions and Addresses, of the first Congress to England's King and Ministry, had been treated with contempt.

Blood had flowed at Lexington.

All New England was in excitement, and her yeomanry had seized their arms and rushed to Cambridge. Drums were beating, colors flying, and men marching in Philadelphia ; the Quakers even organized two companies under the command of Samuel Marshall and Thomas Mifflin.¹

It was evident that the time called for action.

THEY RESOLVED (May 26), that the Colonies should be put in a state of defense. That negotiations should be again opened with England. That a letter should be sent to the Canadians, and an address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland. That no provisions should be sold to the British troops, and that the New York militia should be trained.

They resolved to prepare for war, and to issue bills of credit to the amount of two millions of Spanish milled dollars (June 23). They adopted the Cambridge army as Continental, and resolved to raise a regiment of artillery, and appointed Henry Knox, of Boston, to its command. Also that regiments of Riflemen should be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

But who should be the Commander-in-chief ?

This was a delicate and difficult question. The war was begun in New England, and she might be left to fight it out alone ; it was important to secure the co-operation of the Southern States, so they thought. The Massachusetts men were too much in favor of Separation from England to suit the more conservative elements, and a Massachusetts commander might go too fast : aside from that, there was no man among the leading officers of New England who exactly met the emergency. But the New England men waived all claims

THEY ELECT
WASHINGTON
COMMANDER-
IN-CHIEF.

¹ Curwen's Journal.

to the appointment, and John Adams, when moving the adoption of the Cambridge army, said, looking directly at a tall and stately Virginian : “It is my intention hereafter to propose for Commander-in-chief a gentleman from Virginia, now a member of this Body.”

On the fifteenth of June, GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Virginia, was chosen to be Commander-in-chief by ballot, and unanimously.¹

The Congress was divided between the timid and the bold, but the bold had the most strength. Shortly after this they appointed four Major-Generals : Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts ; Philip Schuyler, of New York ; Israel Putnam, of Connecticut ; and Charles Lee, of Virginia.

Then they appointed nine Brigadier-Generals (22d June) : Seth Pomeroy, of Massachusetts ; Richard Montgomery, of New York ; David Wooster, of Connecticut ; William Heath, of Massachusetts ; Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut ; John Thomas, of Massachusetts ; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire ; Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island ; and Horatio Gates, formerly an English officer.

On the 17th of June the battle and defeat at Bunker Hill took place—and Congress at once resolved upon raising more troops. On the 6th of July they published their “Declaration,” which was read to the Army at Cambridge, and received with cheers. They said, “Our cause is just, our Union is perfect, our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.” But they still hoped for Reconciliation.

Georgia joined the Colonies in July, and thenceforward they were the “Old Thirteen.”

They appointed a fast-day (20th July), established a Post-office and a Hospital, and adjourned on the 5th of August, till the 5th of September.

Upon reassembling (September, 1775), they appointed a Committee (Nov.), consisting of Franklin, Harrison, Johnson, Dickinson, and

THEY
REASSEMBLE.

¹ Journal of Congress.

Jay, to open a correspondence with other nations supposed to be friendly.¹

They agreed upon a plan of confederated action, till such time as the difficulties with England should be composed.

And they appointed a Committee to visit the Camp, and co-operate with Washington.

They decided (in Dec.) to build 13 vessels of war.²

There are no records of the debates and speeches of that day ; nor is what they said so important as what they did.

¹ Secret Journals of Congress.

² Gordon's Hist., vol. ii.

CHAPTER XXII.

WASHINGTON AT CAMBRIDGE.

2D OF JULY, 1775—WASHINGTON—THE MAN FOR THE HOUR—THE CONDITION OF THE ARMY—14,500—"LIBERTY OR DEATH"—UNIFORM—IN BOSTON—13,500—SIR WILLIAM HOWE—WASHINGTON DOES NOT ATTACK—WHY?—CRITICAL SITUATION—COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS AT THE CAMP—THE STRUGGLE NOW—"YE GODS, GIVE ME POWDER!"—NEW LEVIES—JEALOUSY—HOPE—THE NAVY—THE PINE-TREE FLAG—"OLD PUT" AND THE MORTAR—IN BOSTON—IN ENGLAND—FRANKLIN—1776—THE AMERICAN FLAG—COUNCIL OF WAR—POWDER AND LEAD—CREAN BRUSH'S "SUBDUCTION"—DORCHESTER HEIGHTS—BRITISH ABANDON BOSTON.

GENERAL WASHINGTON set out from Philadelphia with General Lee and a few attendants, to take command of an undisciplined army, and to see "that the liberties of America receive no detriment." Expectation waited for him along his way, and Hope followed with longing eyes. The Assembly of New York congratulated him: Governor Trumbull of Connecticut gave warm welcome and encouragement; a delegation from the Massachusetts Provisional Congress met him at Springfield, and the Congress was cordial in its Address.

He arrived at Cambridge, and took command of the army on the 2d of July.

Washington was then forty-three years old. Born and raised in Virginia, where he had been a surveyor and land agent, and accustomed to a frontier life, he was not new to arms, for he had led various expeditions against the Indians, and had saved the remains of Braddock's command (see ante, chapter v.) from total destruction.

He was master of an ample fortune (inherited from a relative), and a large estate on the banks of the Potomac, at Mount Vernon; was well married, but childless. No man in America was externally better able to fill the diffi-

cult and dangerous position to which he had been elected.

How was he fitted for it by nature and education ?

His body was vigorous, accustomed to hardship—and his person was commanding, and he was trained to act with men and soldiers. With no brilliancy of mind, with trained impulses, instincts small, and sympathies latent—as the master of an estate in Virginia, he would have excited no enthusiasm when living, and would have died universally respected. He was not the man to seize the moment, and by an inspiration, with a single blow, accomplish the work of years. But in the midst of doubtful and discordant elements, surrounded by strong, impetuous, or willful or desponding men, beset by conflicting opinions, his calm, sound mind led him to conclusions, which if slow, were sure. He was not a man of inspirations, but of judgments. As an executive man, through a difficult and trying crisis, he had no superior, and perhaps no equal in America.

But his MORAL POWER was singularly great, and deserves a monument such as these United States ought to become. He was free from self-seeking, from vanity, and jealousy, and inspired all who came within his influence, with respect for his lofty character.

This sound judgment, and calm moral confidence, united with his steady executive talent, made him the man for the hour. He went forward with his purpose, and no danger or difficulty could discourage him—no disaster exhaust his resources, or shake his confidence.

When his work was done, he was ready to return to the people the sword they had put into his hands, and to become one with them in carrying forward to a grand future, the principles of Human Liberty and of Self-Government. He practiced what others have preached, and proved that a victorious commander need not always become a usurper and tyrant, and that a general and statesman can be just as well as great.

THE CONDI-
TION OF THE
ARMY.

Washington was warmly received by the officers and army. After the Battle of Bunker Hill, the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, expecting an immediate attack from the British, issued a call for more troops. New England responded: New Hampshire sent Colonel Poor's regiment; Connecticut sent Colonel Parsons's regiment, and voted to put all her troops under command of General Ward; Rhode Island co-operated.

Putnam and the Connecticut troops had immediately thrown up intrenchments on Prospect Hill, opposite to Charlestown Neck. The New Hampshire troops had done the same on Winter Hill, and the Massachusetts the same at Cambridge; while General Thomas strengthened his works at Roxbury, to defend the only egress from Boston. The troops lay in camps, in great disorder: some had tents, some shanties, and some such shelter as they could get. There was no uniform, and little discipline, except among Greene's Rhode Island men. Greene being Quaker born, was orderly both by education and nature.

Washington's FIRST PURPOSE was to ascertain the number of the army, which was found to be 14,500 men fit for duty; then to introduce order, where discipline was almost unknown, where had been no head, and where were many unworthy and inefficient officers. He was indefatigable in this; and his best officers labored with him, until it was done.

The right wing lay at Roxbury, under the command of General Ward, assisted by Generals Thomas and Spencer. The left wing was encamped at Prospect Hill, under charge of Generals Lee, Sullivan, and Greene; and Washington was with the center, at Cambridge, assisted by Generals Putnam and Heath.

The pay of the soldiers was fixed at a shilling (sterling) a day, which Washington thought too high. As far as possible, a uniform was introduced; for, up to this time, each man wore the clothes he had on when he left his home. The dress adopted now was, "Brown holland and osnaburgs, something like a shirt double-caped over the shoul-

ders, in imitation of the Indians," and on the breast, in Capital letters, is their motto, "Liberty or Death!"¹ This was the uniform of the Riflemen afterward led by Daniel Morgan.

The intrenchments were now pushed vigorously, and with good order and discipline. An immense amount of work was done, so that the city was hemmed in with a line of fortifications.

IN BOSTON things were in an unsatisfactory state. There were some 7,000 inhabitants still remaining, with 13,500 soldiers (last of July). The inhabitants, except the Tories, were distracted between a wish to go and a wish to stay, so as to save their property; for General Gage would let none take away more than five pounds in money. The Tories were in good spirits, and predicted the speedy discomfiture of the rebels, and they volunteered (200 of them) to patrol the town at night, to relieve the soldiers, and toward the end of the year, formed three companies, to aid Gage—"The Loyal American Associates," "Loyal Irish Volunteers," and "Royal Fencible Americans." It was bitter for the patriots of Boston to see her own children thus arming to destroy her liberties, and disgrace her honor. It has been done there more than once.

Skirmishes were frequent through the months of July and August, and though there were no striking acts, yet the American scouting parties were on the alert, and effectually cut off supplies, so that the British soldiers and inhabitants began to feel the need of fresh provisions. The English officers on Bunker Hill were much annoyed, too, by the taunts and handbills which were tossed among their soldiers; one of which ran in this way:

Prospect Hill.

1. Seven dollars a month.
2. Fresh provisions, and in plenty.
3. Health.
4. Freedom, ease, affluence, and a good farm.

Bunker Hill.

1. Threepence a day.
2. Rotten salt pork.
3. The scurvy.
4. Slavery, beggary, and want.

¹ Private Letter in Frothingham.

But in Boston the officers kept up their spirits at this inaction and dull prospect as well as they could ; and “ Draper’s Gazette” shows that they had their “ Hivernal Concerts,” and at the theater, fitted up in Faneuil Hall, “ The Tragedy of Zarah” was played.

Gage began to despair at the rigor of the blockade, and wrote to Lord Dartmouth, that he thought New York might be a better place for operations, as a more efficient co-operation could there be had from the inhabitants.

Washington and Gage had a sharp correspondence (Aug.), respecting the cruel treatment of American prisoners, and Washington threatened to retaliate, but did not.

At various times a heavy cannonade was opened on the American lines, which the Americans could not return, and Washington expected an attack, but it did not come. General Gage wanted more troops, which were slow in coming, and at last in September he was ordered home, and Sir William Howe was left in command.

When Washington arrived at the camp, he early discovered that there was a lamentable deficiency of powder (less than 9937 pounds), so that there were not more than nine rounds to a man.¹ He dared not make this public, lest it should lead to an attack ; still the story went to Boston, and was supposed there to be a ruse to draw out the British. He made every exertion to increase the supply, but almost without success, and it was evident that he could not open a cannonade, nor make an assault, without more powder. Various councils of war were held, in which the unanimous opinion was, that the attack must be postponed.

Washington’s situation was now critical ; winter was coming on, the enlistment of the soldiers was about to expire, and no measures were taken to get new ones. He was unable to pay them properly or promptly, and they murmured, for they had left comfortable homes, where their private affairs needed attention. He was destitute

WHY DID NOT
WASHINGTON
ORDER AN
ATTACK ?

¹ Gordon’s Hist., vol. ii.

of powder, and yet the public began to be clamorous for action. Even Congress advised an attack. The Central Congress had no power to lay taxes, or to demand action, and the Provincial Assemblies were doubtful and uncertain; indeed, those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire were only provisional, and knew not their own authority. On the 21st September, Washington wrote: "My situation is inexpressibly distressing. To see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army, the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring, and no provision yet made for such important events. Add to this, the military chest is totally exhausted, the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand, and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny."¹ Desperate as things looked, he spared no pains to stimulate Congress and the colonies to action, and he never faltered.

In October, General Howe prohibited the patriots from leaving Boston, and compelled their co-operation. To check the machinations of the Tories, and to counteract this movement, Washington gave orders in November to seize the active Tories at Portsmouth (where Governor Wentworth's party still held by England), and he directed Governors Trumbull of Connecticut, and Cooke of Rhode Island, to keep a sharp eye upon them there.

Congress had reassembled on the 5th of September, and had taken steps for an expedition against Canada. They also appointed a Committee to visit and co-operate with Washington. On the 15th of October, this Committee, consisting of Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Thomas Lynch of Carolina, and Colonel Harrison of Virginia, met at Washington's head-quarters, with Governors and Committees from Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, for consultation and concert of action. This was of immense service to all parties, for all were en-

COMMITTEE OF
CONGRESS.

¹ Gordon's Hist., vol. ii.; Frothingham's Siege of Boston; Sparks's Washington, vol. i.

couraged to do, where all seemed willing to do. A new arrangement of officers was made, and a plan for enlistment agreed upon. It was thought that before the 1st of March

Massachusetts could raise	.	.	.	.	.	20,000 men.
Connecticut	.	.	.	.	.	8,000 "
New Hampshire	.	.	.	.	.	3,000 "
Rhode Island	.	.	.	.	.	1,000 "

which would make an effective army of thirty-two thousand men. Recruiting was at once begun, but the impulse of enthusiasm was now over, and men looked war steadily in the face as a matter of business, of days' work, and poor pay, with suffering families left at home, and in want.

The struggle now, on the part of the Americans, was to drive out the British from Boston without destroying the town; on the part of the British to keep it and dissipate the "Rebel Rabble." Washington and his Generals had a Council of War in October, and again decided that they could not yet attack the British in their fortifications; they must at least have more powder, and must wait till the ice made them a bridge. Colonel Moylan wrote, "Every thing thaws here except 'Old Put.' He is still as hard as ever, crying out for powder—'powder—ye gods give us powder!'" In December they pushed forward their lines, and made a battery on Lechmere's Point. But it was now a critical time, for the winter was fairly upon them, and many of the troops yet lay in tents, and suffered extremely for want of wood, so that they were often obliged to eat their food raw.¹ The Connecticut troops positively refused to re-enlist, or to remain beyond their time; they were suffering, were not paid, and were willing that some others should now do their duty too. What was to be done? It was decided to retain their arms, giving an assessed value for them, which

¹ Frothingham.

produced more murmurs ; also to call upon Massachusetts for an immediate levy of 3,000 men, and upon New Hampshire for 2,000 men. Happily they came, and the fearful danger was passed. At this time there was a profound jealousy among the people at the assumptions of a military government, and the Congress provided that Washington could only call out the Militia with consent of the Colonies.¹

The Connecticut men, and even Governor Trumbull, were severely blamed then ; which it was easier to do than to do better. It may be well to remember, that though each man was defending his hearth-stone and his liberties, others should share that duty ; also that every man there, even in Connecticut, was not a St. Paul, panting for the pleasures of Martyrdom.

But the new troops came in, and good news arrived from the Canada Expedition (see ch. xxiii.), and powder was beginning to accumulate, so that once more there was Hope.

Immediately after the fight at Lexington, the "Loggers" and "Sawyers" of Maine, after a sharp and bloody struggle, captured, in their own waters, the King's armed schooner "Margranetto," carrying 4 guns and 14 swivels, for which they received the thanks of the Provincial Congress, and commissions to do the like as often as they chose.²

The Massachusetts Provincial Congress had taken some measures to fit out vessels against the enemy, before the battle of Bunker Hill ; and on the 12th of June, the Rhode Island Assembly ordered two schooners to be made ready, to be commanded by Captains Abraham and Christopher Whipple.

Under his general authority, General Washington commissioned (September 2d, 1775), Captain Nicholas Broughton of Marblehead, to cruise and capture the enemy's

NEW
ENGLAND'S
NAVY.

¹ Sparks's Washington, vol. i., p. 164.

² Sabine's Am. Loyalists. Boston, 1847.

transports. He went to work at once, and vigorously, as a Yankee skipper should, and soon made prizes. In October, Congress instructed Washington to commission others, and a fleet of six small vessels went out,¹ part of whom made prizes ; but one (Captain Martindales) was captured, and sent to England. Congress authorized two vessels, of 10 and 14 guns, to be fitted out (October 13) ; and on the 30th of October two more larger vessels, and appointed a committee to carry out the plan. In December they agreed to build 13 vessels of war. In September the Massachusetts Assembly also appointed a committee, of which Elbridge Gerry was a member, to set privateers at work ; and, in a few weeks, the sea swarmed with bold rovers, sailing with or without commissions.

The vessels sent out by Washington sailed under the "Pine-tree flag" (a pine-tree on a white ground), which had been the flag of the floating batteries. But, with or without a flag, all was activity and daring, for the coastmen were now on their own element.

In November, seven British vessels were taken, and at last an army ordnance-brig, loaded with arms and stores, was captured. She was run in at Cape Ann, and word of it was brought to Washington, and there was great exultation in all quarters ; for they were suffering for arms and munitions. Fearing that the enemy might attempt a rescue, Washington sent down a detachment of troops to protect her ; and all the teams in the country, were pressed into service, and came rattling down to the shore, to carry away to places of safety, the precious powder and guns. When the loads came into the camp, the soldiers broke out into shouts, and were wild with delight at the idea of shooting the enemy with their own guns.

"OLD PUT."
AND THE
MORTAR.

Of course "Old Put." was active, and when a three-yoked team hauled in a great Brass Mortar, he mounted astride it with a bottle of rum in hand, and as Colonel Mifflin christened it "Con-

¹ The "Hannah," "Harrison," "Lee," "Washington," and "Lynch."

gress," Putnam broke the bottle over it, amid the hurrahs of the crowd.¹

IN BOSTON, how was it? The British built barracks on Bunker Hill, for a part of the troops, and the rest were quartered in houses, in Boston. They appropriated the North Meeting-house for barracks, and the "Old South," against which they had a particular spite, for a riding-school; and there in the pulpit, queer, mocking sermons were preached by the soldiers, against the rebellious Puritans. But the sermons which the Puritans had preached in that house, were more potent than theirs.

The winter set in with severity, transports did not arrive from England, and the blockade was so close, that both soldiers and people began to suffer for fresh provisions, for flour, vegetables, and wood; eggs sold for half a guinea a dozen, and even salt meat brought 15*d.* sterling a pound. Rum was the only cheap thing, and the soldiers could not be kept from excess. Scurvy was common, and then the small-pox broke out, that dreaded disease; soldiers and vagabonds began to plunder, and houses were forced. General Howe tried the Cat-o'-nine-tails, and the hanging a few, but it was of little use. So great was the scarcity of wood, that it was necessary to give orders to pull down and convert into fire-wood, some of the poorer houses. But still the British did what they could to annoy and distress the rebellious Yankees, and to convince them that Liberty must cost more than it would come to. Having command of the sea, and plenty of armed vessels, they sent an expedition eastward, to destroy stores and convince the people. It was in October that they approached Falmouth—now Portland—and after a few shots, fired and destroyed the town, burning it to the ground. The Provincials now believed that the British troops had orders to ravage the coast, which however, was not true.

How was it in ENGLAND?

This distressing condition of things was better known

¹ Frothingham.

in England than among the Americans. Burke and Barré attacked the inefficiency of the Ministry, with vigor and spirit. They said,

“The Yankees coop up your army, pick off your officers, and even burn the light-houses under the very nose of your fleet! And how is it with our soldiers? Are they not sick, cold, starved!”

These attacks stirred up the Ministry to activity, and provisions and stores were bought up here and there, and hurried away, to save the Ministers further reproach. Ten thousand butts of beer were bought, and £22,000 worth of vegetables and vinegar, besides a vast quantity of other stores; but the seas and storms swallowed up many cargoes, and others were pounced upon by privateers, and carried off to supply the wants of the Yankees.

Loyal addresses were got up, and poured into Parliament, condemning the rebellious Americans, and urging strong and stronger measures. Propositions were made to enlist and send over large bodies of Hessian and Hanoverian troops, who could be hired cheaper than Englishmen; and it was determined to put down the Provincials. But there was a small and talented minority against this project, and against the prosecution of the war.

At this time, Franklin wrote as follows, to Dr. Priestly, in England: ¹ “Tell our dear good friend, Dr. Price, who sometimes has his doubts and despondencies, that America is determined and unanimous—a few Tories and placemen only excepted. Britain, at an expense of £3,000,000, has killed 150 Yankees, this campaign; during the same time, sixteen thousand children have been born in America.” ²

The plan for subduing New England, apparently did not promise to be a cheap one.

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

The first of January [1776] came. It was the day upon which a new flag was hoisted at the redoubt on Mount Pisgah. In one corner was

¹ October 3, 1775.

² Sparks's Franklin, vol. iv.

the English cross ; thirteen stripes of white and red waved for the thirteen United Colonies, and thirteen cheers saluted it as it spread to the breeze, while thirteen guns carried the news afar. This was the child which grew into our present flag, "The Stars and Stripes," which now floats free over a wide land. Thirteen stars afterward replaced the English cross, and the flag was adopted by Congress, in 1777.

The PINE-TREE FLAG had at first been used ; and Paul Lunt, in his Journal, says, that the standard presented to the troops on the 18th of July preceding, bore this motto,

"APPEAL TO HEAVEN."

Through January and February, both parties were quiet ; but the Yankees were more hopeful. Washington knew how impatient Congress and the people were, that a blow should be struck, and he called a Council of War [January 16]. Congress, in December, had authorized him to destroy Boston, if necessary ; and Hancock, who owned large possessions there, with a noble patriotism, wrote : "Do it, and may God crown your attempt with success." The Council decided, "That an attack ought to be made before the coming of reinforcements, in the spring ;" but not then. More powder was wanted, and more troops.

But how to get them, was the question ? It was decided to call on New England again, for thirteen regiments : seven from Massachusetts, four from Connecticut, and two from New Hampshire. New England responded, and the troops came.

Washington urged the Governors to take measures to furnish the troops with arms, blankets, kettles, shoes, etc., for it was not in his power to supply them. Requisitions were accordingly made, and the quantity from each town was allotted. Committees went from house to house, assessing them for one, two, or three blankets, according to

their judgments, which were paid for in the paper money of the day.¹

In most cases, they were supplied willingly, and the wheels were set to work to make more ; for the defense of America was the protection of Woman and the security of Home.

In February, Washington felt stronger, and powder began to accumulate ; but still his position was critical. There were "Chimney-Corner Heroes," who liked to say, "Why don't he take Boston ?"—indicating, of course, that they should do it, if *they* were at the head of the army. Governors Cooke, of Rhode Island, and Trumbull, of Connecticut, were indefatigable in seeking for and obtaining powder, at home and abroad. Cooke sent vessels to the West Indies, to Bermuda, to the Old World, to get it. Trumbull was engaged in procuring saltpetre, and setting mills to work to manufacture it. He also pushed the lead mines at Middletown, and manufactured quantities of the necessary article.

Howe had learned not to despise the Yankees, and he looked for spring and 20,000 new soldiers, with which to raise the siege, to march over the country and subdue the rebels. The Tories were confident of his success ; and Crean Brush (one of them) presented his petition to be allowed to raise 300 volunteers, and "after the subduction of the main body of the rebel forces," to march through to Lake Champlain, and "put down all symptoms of rebellion in that quarter." We do not learn that Lord Howe gave him leave, or that Brush did any such thing after the "subduction" of his neighbors.

Still, with the arrival of spring and new troops, Howe was determined upon action ; and the Tories were sure of the restoration of law and order.

March came, and with it came a stir in the American camp. Washington and his Generals were determined to take the offensive, and to

DORCHESTER
HEIGHTS.

¹ Holland's Mass., p. 215.

try to answer the expectations of the Republicans. But how should they act? South-east of Boston, beyond Boston Neck, lay Dorchester Heights; and General Ward said: "Throw in a strong party there, raise intrenchments, and your batteries will command the city and sweep the Bay." That was decided upon.

Washington was now, in a measure, supplied with powder; and on the night of Saturday, March 2, a cannonade upon the town was begun from the batteries at Cobble Hill, Lechmere's Point, and Roxbury, which was returned with spirit. This continued on Sunday night, and on Monday night; and, according to Knox's report, some 144 shot and 13 shells were thrown into the town, destroying houses, and killing some soldiers. But what did all this cannonading from the Americans mean?

On the night of Monday, General Thomas marched away, at the head of 2,000 Americans, and some 300 carts loaded with bundles of hay. No teamster cried "haw" or "gee," as he left his load on Boston Neck. In silence the bundles were arranged in a wall along this Neck; in silence the troops passed behind it, across the Neck, so that no sentry gave the alarm to the British; in silence they went to work on Dorchester Heights, and, with pick and shovel, as General Heath said, "never was so much work done in so short a time."

The dawn of day revealed to General Howe a redoubt bristling with cannon, which completely commanded his position, and made it untenable. Those guns were silent, but they *could* speak. The soldiers were quiet; but they who had done so much, could do more. Howe must attack it, or he must evacuate the city. He determined to attack; and ordered Earl Percy, with 2,400 men, to proceed to Castle William, and thence in boats, to land on Dorchester Heights, attack and defeat the offensive rebels.

It was the 5th of March (1776), and crowds were gathered—as on the day of Bunker Hill—on the hill-sides and on the city roofs, to see the fight, for all knew it must be

murderous. Washington went among General Thomas's men, and said, "Remember the 5th of March!" the day of the "Boston Massacre." They were ready for the enemy, and strengthened their works. As the day advanced, a furious storm of wind and rain broke over them, so that Percy's boats could not live: it continued through the next day, and then it was clear to Lord Howe that he must evacuate the city to save his army and his ships. He gave orders for abandoning the town, to the astonishment of the Tories and the chagrin of his officers. He threatened to destroy the town if he was assaulted while re-embarking his troops; and a flag came out to Washington, from the few patriots in the city, asking him to forbear an attack. He could not recognize their authority, and refused an answer.

Four thousand troops were in arms, under the command of Generals Greene and Sullivan, ready to co-operate, from the Cambridge side, whenever ordered.

Confusion reigned in the town. The ammunition was embarked—the heavy guns were spiked or sunk—the Tories were eager to save their property—Crean Brush and his followers broke open shops and houses, and took away such property as was valuable—and on the 10th of March, Howe gave the order to evacuate the city; but it was not till the 15th that the troops were drawn up to march, and then an east wind delayed them.

Washington grew impatient; and on the 9th, advanced his batteries to Nook's Hill, a point on Dorchester Neck nearer to Boston. This provoked a cannonade from the British guns; and through the night, the roar of artillery from all the batteries shook the earth.

On the morning of Sunday (the 17th March), the British troops left Bunker Hill, their sentinels only keeping guard, and before noon 11,000 troops, and one thousand Tories, had embarked aboard the ships. Washington watched the movement, and sent word to Putnam, who at once moved up his

THE BRITISH
ABANDON
BOSTON.

troops to Bunker Hill, as Ward did his to Boston Neck. Putnam landed his troops at Charlestown, and discovered that the sentinels were merely scare-crows, stuffed figures; taking possession of the fort, his men sent out a shout which reached the ears of the retreating army. They then marched through Boston, threw wide the gates on Boston Neck; through which General Ward marched in with 5,000 troops. Then General Putnam, in the name of the Thirteen United Colonies, took possession of all the forts, defenses, and stores left by the enemy. Cheer on cheer told the news, that Boston was once more free—free from the tread of armed strangers, and free for the homes of peaceful citizens. Friends, relatives, and companions now sought each other, and were locked in one another's arms, and tears were wet on manly cheeks as well as in woman's eyes.

The city was somewhat damaged, and many houses had been broken into. The "Old South Meeting-house," that "Seed-bed of Rebellion," had been turned into a Riding-school; the "Old North" was pulled down and burned for wood; the "Brattle-street" and "Hollis-street" Churches had been used as Barracks. On the 20th, the whole army marched through Boston to the sounds of music and the cheers of the people, and men forgot the sufferings of the past in hopes for the future.

Washington published a proclamation, to promote amity between the people and soldiers, and to protect the prisoners and stores. He stationed General Ward near Boston, with five Regiments, who threw up fortifications to protect the city against a return of the enemy.

Then Washington, with the thanks and hopes of all the people, marched with the rest of the army to protect New York, whither General Lee had already gone.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EXPEDITIONS TO CANADA.—ARNOLD.

COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD—EXPEDITION THROUGH MAINE—REACH POINT LEVI—GENERAL MONTGOMERY'S EXPEDITION THROUGH LAKE CHAMPLAIN—ALLEN'S ATTACK ON MONTREAL—SIR GUY CARLETON—MONTREAL TAKEN—QUEBEC ATTACKED—MONTGOMERY KILLED—ARNOLD WOUNDED—MORGAN AND 400 TAKEN PRISONERS—INACTION—WOOSTER'S ATTACK—DISORDERS—AMERICANS DRIVEN OUT—ARNOLD AND WOOSTER QUARREL—GENERAL THOMAS DIES—GENERAL SULLIVAN—DRIVEN BACK—GENERAL GATES TAKES COMMAND—ARNOLD BEATEN ON THE LAKE—SUFFERINGS—SKETCH OF ARNOLD.

WHILE England had possession of Canada, she held positions from which she could descend with rapidity upon the Colonies. Ethan Allen had proposed in 1774 to seize the English fortresses there, and drive the British out—and he began at Ticonderoga. But at that time the public mind was not ready for action, and neither men nor money were collected. After the leaguer of Boston, and while both armies lay inactive, Washington consulted with General Schuyler, and decided to set on foot an expedition against Canada ; Congress approved of the movement.

COL. BENEDICT ARNOLD, full of activity and talent, and eager for distinction, was dissatisfied with the measure of glory assigned to him in the taking of Ticonderoga, and to him was intrusted the command of eleven hundred men, consisting mostly of New England troops, led by Colonels Enos and Greene, and Majors Meigs and Bigelow ; three companies of Virginia and Pennsylvania riflemen were of the party, commanded by Captain Daniel Morgan, whose name is synonymous with gallantry and daring. Aaron Burr, then an enterprising youth of 20, was of this expedition. On the 13th of September they started from Massachusetts. They reached the Kennebeck, and proceeded

through it to Norridgewock falls ; there Colonel Enos was directed to send back the sick, for provisions were growing short, and they were in the midst of a wilderness. He decided to return with his division to Cambridge, to save them from starvation ; for which he was afterward court-martialed, and acquitted.

Arnold's party, with Captain Morgan's rifles in advance, pressed forward through a trackless wilderness, cutting their way through brush and briers, clambering over rocks and mountains, fording rivers and breasting storms. It was a march of savage hardship, and unexampled endurance ; provisions failed them, and the gaunt soldiers devoured their dogs and moccasins ; but Arnold pushed forward in advance with a small party, and reached a French settlement (Sertigan),¹ where he bought provisions, and sent them back to meet the famishing troops.

On the 9th of November, they reached Point Levi, on the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec, after a march of two months (320 miles), almost unequaled in history for daring and hardship.

When Arnold paraded his troops on the river-bank, the drums of the garrison beat to arms, and the city was astir ; the people were astounded. Yet the authorities knew he was coming, through letters which Arnold had sent to Montgomery by two Indians, who had proved false.

While Arnold was making his way through the dense wilderness on the East, on the West another body of Americans was pushing up through the Lakes.

GENERAL MONTGOMERY, a spirited officer of Irish birth, was appointed to command this expedition through Lake Champlain, assisted by General Wooster of Connecticut. He set forth with General Schuyler and a few troops, and hastened forward to the upper end of the lake, to Isle aux Noix, where they threw up defenses. There Cols. Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, with the "Green Mountain Boys," joined him, and an unsuccessful attempt was made upon

¹ Lossing's Field-Book, vol. i., p. 193.

St. Johns. They then returned to Isle aux Noix, and Schuyler left the expedition in charge of Montgomery, and returned to Albany. Colonel Allen was sent by Montgomery to rouse and enlist the Canadians; returning with a party of them, he met Colonel Brown with an advance party of Americans and Canadians, and together they concerted a plan to surprise and capture Montreal. It must be remembered that these were bush-fighters, who knew nothing of subordination; and, without orders, they rashly decided to strike a blow where they could. On a rough, windy night of September (24th), with about 100 Canadians and Americans, Allen crossed the St. Lawrence, and waited the signal of attack from Brown, who advanced on the other side of the town, but he waited in vain. Daylight came, and the British soldiers sallied out against him in numbers. His men ran at the first fire, and he was taken prisoner, ironed, and sent away to England. Both Brown and Allen were severely censured for this act. General Montgomery was short of powder, and he found a continued and increasing obstacle to success in the insubordination of both men and officers, who were so inflated with the spirit of liberty, that they were unable to obey orders. But a successful attack on Chamblée Fort put him in possession of six tons of powder,¹ with which he pressed the siege of St. Johns.

SIR GUY CARLETON, then Commander of the British forces in Canada, attempted to cross the river and relieve the garrison, but was beaten back by Seth Warner. Montgomery sent in a summons to surrender, and on the 4th of November the fort yielded. Five hundred Regulars and one hundred Canadians were made prisoners, and cannon, shot, shells, and munitions of war, were the prizes.

Montgomery then hastened forward to Montreal; Carleton fled in disguise, and the Americans entered it on the 13th of November in triumph.

MONTREAL
IS TAKEN.

¹ Gordon, vol. ii.

Where was Arnold ? Want of boats had delayed him for some days, but on the night of the 13th of November, he made his plans, and crossed the river with five hundred men, landed at Wolf's Bay, rushed up the bank, and formed his men on the Heights of Abraham, where Wolfe and Montcalm had fought and died. His troops gave three cheers, which roused the garrison. Arnold sent in a flag, to demand the surrender of the place, which had been reinforced by McLean, and now numbered some fifteen hundred troops ; and they laughed at his threats. Still, as McLean feared the disaffection of the citizens, he would not risk a sortie, and both parties were for a few days inactive. Arnold finding his cartridges spoiled, drew back some twenty miles, and waited for Montgomery.

Montgomery left a garrison with General Wooster, at Montreal, and joined Arnold on the 1st of December, with the few troops that could be induced to go forward.

THE ATTACK
ON QUEBEC.

Through the deep snows he and Arnold now led their small army of eight hundred men, to the walls of Quebec. What should they do ? to retreat was disgrace, to attack was desperation.

After three weeks of effort, a council of war decided to attempt to carry the city by assault. They hoped for co-operation among the inhabitants of the town, but they reckoned without their host.

On the night of the 31st of December, the Americans in three parties plunged through deep drifts of snow, which was still falling, to attack the strongest natural position in America. Montgomery, at the head of two hundred men, mostly New Yorkers, marched against the south side of the town, under Cape Diamond, where was a battery built of logs ; he tore down the pickets, and shouted to his men to follow their General ; some hung back, others followed ; but the battery was not asleep, and its guns, loaded with grape, belched forth death. Where was Montgomery ? Dead, shot through the head and

legs ; so were Captains Cheeseman and McPherson. The men fell back disheartened at the loss of their leaders, and did not attempt to rally.

At another point, Colonel Livingston and Major Brown were to make a feint, so as to divide the garrison, while Montgomery and Arnold were to do the main work.

Arnold, leading the largest attacking party, pushed boldly forward through dark and intricate ways, encumbered with deep snows. He was stopped by a picketed battery, and in assaulting it, he received a musket-ball in his leg. The resolute Morgan then took the command, and a three hours' fight ensued, when the Americans carried the barrier, and prepared to follow up their success. But the other assaults having failed, Carleton was able to concentrate all his forces against Morgan, who was at last obliged to surrender—a prisoner of war—with all his men, amounting to some four hundred.

The Americans had failed in their desperate undertaking, half of their forces were captured, and their leader was slain.

Upon Colonel Arnold the command now devolved, with the rank of Brigadier-General, and he maintained a position a few miles distant, till Spring ; both he and Carleton waiting for Spring and reinforcements, both afraid to act.

General Wooster, the principal officer in Canada, joined Arnold with what troops could be spared from Montreal, and another attempt was made upon Quebec ; but it was useless. The men were weakened by hunger, disease, and defeats, and had no spirit. The conduct of many of the American officers and soldiers, and particularly “the Yorkers,” was disorderly, oppressive to the inhabitants, and every way shameful. They lost their own courage and character, and the confidence of the people there. Fresh troops, with the Spring, came pouring in from England, and the Americans, abandoning their sick and stores, were driven across the river, and out of Canada.

General Schuyler had been sick at Albany during the campaign, Montgomery was killed, and Wooster and Arnold had quarreled. - Wooster was recalled, and a Committee of Inquiry, ordered by Congress (in June), acquitted him of the charges made by Arnold and Schuyler.¹ General Thomas was ordered up to the command of the retreating troops, and soon died of small-pox; he was succeeded by General Sullivan, of New Hampshire. But Generals Carleton and Burgoyne, at the head of fresh British troops, pressed upon the Provincials by land and lake, beat them at the "Cedars," and drove them back upon Crown Point and Ticonderoga. There Major-General Gates took the command in June, while General Arnold had command of the vessels on the Lake. Through the summer nothing decisive was accomplished; but in October (11th), an obstinate fight took place on the Lake, in which Arnold was worsted; and having lost a schooner and a gondola, was obliged to retire to Crown Point. On the 13th, Sir Guy Carleton followed him up, and another engagement ensued. After a battle of four hours, Arnold was driven off with the loss of eleven of his sixteen vessels, and the British again got possession of Crown Point.

The coming winter closed the campaign, and Carleton drew off his vessels.²

One of the boldest and most arduous enterprises of the war, carried forward in the beginning by New England troops, thus closed in disaster. The sufferings of the men were great. Colonel John Trumbull, who was on General Gates's staff [June, 1776], describes the condition of the troops at Crown Point, as follows:

"I found them dispersed—some in tents, some in sheds, and more under the shelter of miserable brush huts—so totally disorganized by the death or sickness of officers, that the distinction of regiments or corps was in a great degree lost. And I can truly say, that I did not look into

¹ Hollister's Connecticut. Sparks's Revolutionary Correspondence.

² General Gates's Letter to Congress, November 5, 1776.

tent or hut in which I did not find either a dead or dying man.

"I found the whole number of officers and men to be five thousand two hundred, and the sick, who required the attentions of a hospital, were two thousand eight hundred." ¹

Before we leave this period, let us devote a BENEDICT
ARNOLD. little time to Benedict Arnold, the singular man who led out this expedition. He was full of executive talent, brave as any man in the Revolutionary struggle, and with a restless energy which drove him on to daring deeds. He was thirty-five years old when he enlisted in the cause, and hastened to join in the capture of Ticonderoga.

Having begun life as an apothecary and merchant at New Haven, his speculations had been unsuccessful, and now he eagerly sought success and military glory. He carried his men through the wilderness of Maine, to the attack on Quebec. He kept to his purposes with energy, and in the retreat down the Lakes, he was the last man who left St. Johns, in a boat by himself. He had command of the naval forces on Lake Champlain, where he fought his vessels with courage and desperation, so that his name was renowned throughout the Colonies. Afterward, in beating off the British from Danbury (where General Wooster lost his life), he added other laurels to his fame. Washington sent him to aid General St. Clair in driving back General Burgoyne, and wrote: "He is active, judicious, and brave." In the Battle of Bemis's Heights [1777], Arnold, though acting without orders, won the victory by his desperate daring and skill. No commander in the American army had a greater capacity for military success, and none in the same time won more laurels; none, certainly, sunk into such deep disgrace. Notwithstanding his talent, he never commanded the confidence of the community; and he was subject to suspicions,

¹ Reminiscences, p. 28. New Haven, 1841.

which hindered his promotion, paralyzed his usefulness, and precipitated his downfall.

Why was this? Two facts explain it all: First—he was greedy of fame, and was continually engaged in quarrels with his brother officers, which insured their opposition and hostility. Second—he was greedy of money, and could not be trusted. This last fact was always in his way; it led him to resort to dishonest and dishonorable practices, and entirely destroyed the confidence which his great military ability would have insured him. Congress was afraid of this, the officers of the army were afraid of it, and Washington alone seems to have tried to trust him to the last.

Plunged in debt, disappointed, aggravated, he yielded to his anger and disgust, and sold himself and his country. He received his reward—the hatred of his countrymen, and the contempt of those who received his service; and he died in neglect and disgrace.

Sabine says of him: “I am inclined to believe him a finished scoundrel, from early manhood to his grave.”¹

There is not a doubt, that the distrust so distinctly expressed by Congress, hastened him along a course which ended in infamy. And there is reason to believe, that Washington hoped to save him, by trusting him, and putting him upon his honor. But it is always a dangerous thing to place public trusts in the hands of a man who is privately dishonest. He was detested at home, and distrusted in England; for men may encourage the deed, but despise the Traitor. While there, he was met by an American, standing in company with a lady, by the tomb of André, in Westminster Abbey. He afterward engaged in trade at St. Johns, and died in 1801.”²

¹ Sabine's American Loyalists.

² Sparks's Life of Benedict Arnold.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ARMY MARCHES ON NEW YORK.

CAPTAIN SEARS—RIVINGTON'S GAZETTE SEIZED—GENERAL LEE MARCHES TO NEW YORK
—ENTERS IT ON SUNDAY—PEOPLE FLEE THE CITY—TRYON AND SIR HENRY CLINTON
—CHARACTER OF LEE—THE LONG ISLAND TORIES.

CAPTAIN Isaac Sears, one of the boldest and most indefatigable of men, was for a long time the active spirit among the Rebels at New York. But in New York, Tryon the English Governor, was popular, and a large preponderance of wealth and talent there was on the Tory side. No Journal at that time was more brilliant and effective on that side than Rivington's Gazette, published at New York. "Circulating pisen in print," as Sears said, he determined to put a stop to its influence, and he organized in Connecticut a band of a hundred horsemen to aid him (November 23d, 1775). Armed to the teeth, he dashed through the city at their head, seized the press and types, and began to carry them away. The King's party collected in a crowd, and threatened as they grew strong, so that Sears and his party were in danger. He saw it, and put on a bold front ; he shouted to them, that if they dared to interfere with him, he would order his men to fire, and that they would do it. To prove his words, he drew them up in line, and told them to make ready. As they cocked and leveled their pieces, the crowd scattered, and he and his party completed their work. On their return to Connecticut they seized the Rev. Samuel Seabury (afterward Bishop), with two other obnoxious Tories, and carried them to New Haven, where for a time they were kept prisoners.

Sears, finding it impossible to organize the Patriots in New York effectively against the rich and influential Tories there, and feeling impelled to be up and doing, removed into Connecticut, where he found a greater love of liberty, and more determination to assert it. He knew that some British ships were hovering near the harbor, and he urged Washington to concert with Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, to raise a body of men to secure New York, before it was taken possession of by the enemy. General Lee wrote to Washington, urging the same thing (January 5th, 1776). "Indeed," he said, "the delay of a single day may be fatal." John Adams, then at Watertown, was consulted, and he advised Washington that his authority was ample, and that the plan was expedient. Governor Trumbull was always ready for action; and when Washington proposed a plan he convened the Committee of Safety of the province, and took measures to call out Colonels Waterbury and Ward's regiments; so that by the time General Lee reached Stamford to take the command (the 22d January), twelve hundred Connecticut troops were collected there. This was prompt work.

GENERAL LEE
MARCHES UPON
NEW YORK.

Sickness kept Lee at Stamford; but Sears, with a part of the troops, pushed on, and, in spite of the remonstrances and fears of a body of the citizens, entered the city, and established his troops. Lee soon followed.

Sunday came on the 4th of February. The churches were opened, as usual, in New York, and a few persons partook in their exercises; but the attention was painfully alive to outside matters—to the things of this world, and it was difficult to follow the prayers or sermons. Captain Sears and Colonel Waterbury had entered the city with a portion of the Connecticut troops; and the roll of the drums told that there was some new movement. Anxious people left the churches, to learn that General Lee had entered the city.

He was carried into New York on a litter.

He writes Washington (14th Feb.): "I am, indeed, much better, but extremely tender. I begin to walk. It has been a damn'd attack, a constant violent fever attending it. I neither ate nor slept for eight days."

His troops were encamped in "the Fields," then vacant, where the City Hall now stands, and their presence carried dismay to the Tories and to many timid townsmen. Through all the cold, blustering Sunday, and through the night, great numbers of people listened only to their fears: the captains of the British ships in the harbor had threatened to fire into the town, and Lee had returned their threats. A crowd of people loaded their goods and merchandizes into carts and wagons, and the road northward, over King's Bridge, was choked with the departing inhabitants. The future salvation of their souls, that day yielded to the present salvation of their properties.

Governor Tryon had removed for safety on board the "Duchess of Gordon"¹ man-of-war, and lay at anchor down the Bay. Within a few hours of General Lee's arrival, the sound of guns from the Narrows came rolling up the Bay, the signal of an arrival there, causing new tremors. This was from the British ships of Sir Henry Clinton, who had come into the harbor to consult with Governor Tryon. In a few hours they would have had possession of the city, and the Tories would have been glorious; but Lee was in possession, and the rebel forces were in arms, and flocking to his standard.

CHARACTER
OF LEE.

Charles Lee was a Welshman. He was a scholar and a soldier, and had served with distinction in the English army. He early took the part of the colonies, and defended their resistance to the Stamp Tax. This, of course, lost him the favor of the British Ministry; and in November, 1773, he came to America, where he bought an estate in Virginia, and took an active part in inspiring the people with courage and

¹ Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution, vol. ii.

determination, to meet the coming crisis. He accepted a commission from Congress as Major-General, and accompanied Washington to Cambridge. He was brave to audacity, and moved before many men began to consider. But with rapidity and brilliancy of mind, he combined a vindictive temper, rash speech, and irregular manners. He afterward lived a solitary, eccentric, and comfortless life on his estates, with a few books, and many dogs; and died in 1782, at an inn in Philadelphia, with these words on his lips—

“Stand by me, my brave grenadiers !”

His peculiarities, and his undisciplined mind and temper, led him into many difficulties, involved him in many disasters, weakened his character, undermined his influence, and, finally, at the battle of Monmouth, began a quarrel with Washington, and led to his suspension from his command for a year, which he did not resume.

Once in possession of New York, Lee lost no time in removing such of the cannon as he found there, to places of safety, or to mounting them in batteries for the protection of the city, along the East and Hudson Rivers. Barricades were thrown up in the streets, and the most effective measures were rapidly taken for an immediate attack, which did not then come.

The western end of Long Island swarmed with Tories, of the active kind. They were combined and armed, and were considered so dangerous, that a detachment of the New Jersey troops was sent there to disarm and disperse them : they did their work.

General Lee was not a man for half measures ; and, with his usual impetuosity, he took strong and decided steps. While he was detained by sickness at Stamford, reports came that the Tories of New York, expecting General Clinton with the British fleet, would conspire with him to drive out the rebels : he at once sent them a fierce, threatening message, and declared, that if they fired the town, he would chain a hundred of them together, and

make the house their funeral pile. He also caused a tremendous oath to be administered to the Tories on Long Island. It was so extreme, that Congress felt called upon to Resolve—that thenceforward no test oaths should be exacted by any military officer.¹

There can hardly be a question, that the influence of these active, enterprising, daring officers, was of service in repressing the Tories, and in stimulating the more slow and cautious mind of Washington to action.

¹ Gordon's Hist., vol. ii., p. 205.

CHAPTER XXV.

WASHINGTON AT NEW YORK.

TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND REGULARS COMING—LORD STIRLING IN COMMAND AT NEW YORK
—WASHINGTON AND HIS GENERALS THERE—PUTNAM AND THE FORTIFICATIONS—CON-
DITION OF WASHINGTON'S ARMY—NEW LEVIES—BUSHNELL'S "TURTLE"—THE PLOT—
LORD HOWE'S FLEET ARRIVES, 1776—REGULARS AND HESSIANS LAND.

IN England, vigorous measures were taken to reduce the rebellious Colonies to submission. It was decided that a force of twenty-five thousand regulars should be sent to America,¹ and that eighty vessels of war should effectually blockade their coasts and co-operate with the soldiers. The necessity of raising the taxes in England, to provide for enormous expenditures, led to a violent altercation in the House; and a rumor that the Ministry had given up the idea of taxing the Colonies, agitated the country members. They could only be quieted so as to vote to tax themselves, by the assurance that hereafter they should have the privilege of voting to tax the Rebels. But supplies were voted, and ships and soldiers were sent. The waters of the broad and beautiful New York Bay were entered by Sir Henry Clinton's ships, but they were destined for another service; and in March they sailed southward. Lee followed to North Carolina, and thence to Charleston, South Carolina; where—Clinton on the water and Lee on the land—they came in conflict. On the departure of Lee, the command of the forces at New York was left with General William Alexander, called Lord Stirling.

Immediately on the evacuation of Boston, Washington sent away General Heath of Massachusetts with the Rifle-

¹ Gordon, vol. ii., p. 230.

men and five battalions of the army. They marched with expedition through Massachusetts to Norwich, and thence to New York, whither Washington believed Lord Howe was bound. In a few days, on the 29th of March, General Sullivan (of New Hampshire) set out on the march with six battalions more, and General Putnam (of Connecticut) received written orders from Washington to proceed to New York to superintend the fortifications, and take every measure possible to strengthen the place. General Washington soon followed with the remainder of the troops, leaving a body of them only, to garrison Boston. He arrived at New York on the 14th of April, 1776.

At the same time, between two and three thousand troops were marched to Canada, to co-operate with Arnold in his endeavors to check and defeat the British.¹

The work of fortifying New York and the banks of the rivers went on under the direction of vigorous Putnam, and Forts Washington and Lee were begun, intended to close the Hudson against British cruisers. About seventeen thousand American soldiers were now collected in and around New York. They were mostly from New England, and only one half of them could be counted on for duty. Of these nine thousand, Washington wrote, "at least two thousand are destitute of arms, and near as many with arms in such condition, as to be rather calculated to discourage than animate the user." Under all discouragements and disadvantages, no time was lost in preparing for the reception of Lord Howe.

Toward the end of May, General Washington went to Philadelphia to confer with Congress, when it was decided to attempt a reinforcement of thirteen thousand men from New England and New York, and ten thousand from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. Rafts and floating batteries were prepared to annoy the English fleet when it should arrive; and David Bushnell of Say-

¹ See ch. xxiii.

brook prepared his submarine "Turtle," which was intended to grapple the keel of a ship and blow her sky-high. It only succeeded in frightening the British badly, and in giving rise to a humorous poem, called the "Battle of the Kegs."¹

It was after General Washington's return to the army (June), that a profound sensation was created, by the intimation of a deep-laid and well-digested plot to seize his person and deliver him to the British—when he might well have expected to swing as a traitor. In this plot was Governor Tryon, and some of the most active Tories in New York—among them, the Mayor of the city. Two of the General's guard were bought, and the plot was discovered by one who refused the bribe. The Mayor was immediately seized and imprisoned, and the exasperation against the Tories increased.

Threatened with open and secret foes, Washington and his Rebel forces waited with anxiety the coming of Lord Howe and his fleet.

He came at last. On the 25th of June, 1776, the "Greyhound" came in sight off Sandy Hook, and in a few days the fleet arrived, and their guns shook the shores, and vibrated through every house and heart in New York. They sailed up the Bay in gallant style, and landed without opposition nine thousand regulars on Staten Island. In a short time, more ships arrived, bringing an army of Hessians, hired to fight and subdue the revolted Americans.

The struggle was now about to begin in earnest ; and it will remain to be seen whether the greatness of their principles—"Freedom and Self-government"—will make the weak and undisciplined provincials strong to resist and overthrow the trained armies of the divinely-crowned King George III.

¹ By Hopkinson.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NANTASKET AND CHARLESTON.

CAPTAIN MUGFORD'S CAPTURE—GENERAL LINCOLN—THE YANKEES STEAL A MARCH—SHIPS DRIVEN AWAY, AND BOSTON PORT OPENED—HOPKINS'S EXPEDITION FOR POWDER—BURNING OF NORFOLK—IN NORTH CAROLINA—ATTACK ON CHARLESTON—FLEETS OF SIR PETER PARKER AND HENRY CLINTON—DEFENSES—RUTLEDGE AND LEE—SOUTH CAROLINA WON'T SUBMIT—COLONEL MOULTRIE AND SULLIVAN'S ISLAND—THE BOMBARDMENT—POWDER SCARCE—THE SHIPS BEATEN OFF—THE "ACTÆON" BURNED.

THE departure of the army left Boston in a defenseless condition. The inhabitants and residents of the neighborhood looked out anxiously across the bay to discover any signals of a hostile fleet, for they felt that in a moment they might be pounced upon, and become the prey of British cruisers. Some British ships still lay in the Nantasket roads, their long streamers hanging idly from their mast-heads ; but what moment might they not spread their sails and bring their guns to bear on the devoted town of Boston ? Already in May (17, 1776), Captain Mugford in his privateer had attacked the British transport ship *Hope*, and captured her with his dreadful threats, without firing a gun, and in sight of the English ships which lay at Nantasket. On the afternoon of Fast-day, as the people were coming out of meeting, they saw the little cruiser bringing in her prize, and they thanked God again for the fifteen hundred barrels of powder in her hold, which they so much wanted. The English officers were chagrined at this capture under their noses, and attacked Mugford as he went through Pulling Point on another cruise. The British boats were beaten off, but the brave Captain Mugford lost his life. General Benjamin Lincoln suggested a plan for driving away the re-

maining ships, which was received with favor, and on the 13th of June the drums beat through the streets of Boston to notify all that an expedition was a-foot. Volunteers presented themselves, for the "solid men of Boston" were not then afraid to fight. With detachments from Marshall's and Whitney's regiments, and with some artillery, they embarked for Hull and Pettick's Island, where they found troops collected, so that they numbered twelve hundred men. They distributed themselves quietly on Moon Island, Long Island, at Hoff's-neck, and at Point Alderton—they threw up batteries, and planted their cannon. In the early morning of the 14th, a shot from Long Island came whistling through the rigging of Commodore Bankes's ship, seriously disturbing his nap or his devotions. He appeared on deck, and discovered that the "damn'd Yankees," as they were called, had stolen a march upon him.

The batteries now opened upon his fleet, consisting of three armed vessels and seven transport ships, and for a time the captain returned their fire with spirit; but a shot from Long Island came crashing through his spars, and he then gave the signals for sailing. The Yankees sent a shell or two to hasten him, and in a few hours the port of Boston was opened free, and the "Port Bill" was a thing of naught.

But the port was not quite free to all, for a few days after, two English transport ships came sailing up the bay, full of confidence and powder, expecting a warm welcome. When well in the bay, a battery opened upon them, and they discovered, when too late, that they were trapped. They were both captured.¹

A small naval expedition was started, under the command of Captain Ezekiel Hopkins. With two ships, two armed brigs, and a sloop, well manned, he sailed away from Cape Henlopen on the 18th of February, 1776. Few knew whither he was bound, or for what, but in a fortnight he drew

HOPKINS'S
EXPEDITION
FOR POWDER.

¹ Gordon, vol. ii., p. 266.

near the West Indies, and came to anchor at the island of Abacco. There he learned that at New Providence were arms and stores, and especially powder, and those were the prizes that he was sent to seize. He landed his marines on the eastern end of the island, and marched against the fort. The small garrison fired once, then spiked their cannon, and retired. Hopkins's men made themselves comfortable, and spent the night there ; and the next day they took possession of the town, and demanded the keys of the fortifications. In them they found forty good cannon and plenty of shot, but no powder. That night's delay and comfort had given Governor Brown time to remove it. They were too late ; so they took the Governor, and sailed away (17th March).

They soon fell in with a British schooner, and took her ; they then captured a bomb-brig of ten guns, in which were plenty of arms, powder, and stores. This was a good prize. Captain Hopkins then (6th April) came up with the ship Glasgow, manned with 150 men, and twenty nine-pounders. He attacked her at once, but the Glasgow poured in a broadside, which was double the weight of Hopkins's, and damaged and drove him off. The Alfred, another of Hopkins's vessels, then came up and poured in her fire. Soon after, Captain Hopkins returned to the battle, and the firing was hot on both sides ; the other American vessels got engaged ; but Captain Howe of the Glasgow fought his ship bravely, and finally made his escape.

Captain Hopkins came into New London (April 16th) with his two prizes, and there was a general regret with some fault-finders that the Glasgow was not the third. But General Trumbull, and the rebel forces, made good use of the ammunition captured, and returned the balls to the British with their own powder, shot out of Yankee guns.

BUENING OF
NORFOLK.

In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the Governor, had become as unpopular as Hutchinson had been in Massachusetts ; and like Tryon at New

York, had concluded that he would be better loved by the people if properly protected with cannon and cutlasses ; he had therefore taken refuge on one of the English ships of war. The ships were distressed for fresh provisions, and sent ashore at Norfolk to procure them ; but the people refused either to give or sell to the Governor and the Regulars. And not only so, they proceeded to fire into them with rifles and muskets, which was not only disagreeable to those hit, but wounded the feelings of the Governor. It was on the 1st of January that he ordered the guns of the ship to be opened on the town ; and sent a party ashore who set fire to the buildings along the wharves. Many of the slaves, having no love for their owners, and a great love of plunder, joined in the work and increased the confusion. The flames spread to the dry wooden houses, and in a short time Norfolk, a place of six thousand inhabitants, and the principal town of Virginia, was in ashes. Lord Dunmore was everywhere repulsed from the coast, and after many disasters relinquished the hopeless design of compelling the people to love him.

In North Carolina, Governor Martin attempted the same course of action, was obliged to fly to the ships ; and the Royalists (Highlanders and Regulators), led by Colonel McLeod, were defeated and scattered (on the 27th of Feb.) at Moore's Creek Bridge, by General Moore and a party of 1,100 Rebels ; who captured ammunition and stores, and fifteen hundred good rifles. The spirits of the Tories were damped by these things.

On the first of June, an express dashed into the city of Charleston (S. C.), with the news that a few miles outside Sullivan's Island, a great fleet of forty or fifty sail lay secure at anchor, and that the drums could be heard beating the soldiers to quarters on their decks. This was a fleet sent from England under the command of Sir Peter Parker, who was joined by Sir Henry Clinton, from New York ; they were now determined to bring these rebellious Southern Colo-

ATTACK ON
CHARLESTON.

nies once more under the sway of George III., and force them to be willing to be taxed "with alacrity." In April, 1775, the Charleston Patriots had seized the English mails and examined the despatches of the Ministry, which clearly showed the designs of the Court ; and now the Rebels had wind of this new design. Washington had sent General Lee from New York with some regular troops to take necessary measures to defend Charleston. No effort was spared to do this, and a fort was rapidly constructed of Palmetto wood on Sullivan's Island, which commanded the harbor. The store-houses along the docks were torn down, and temporary defenses were erected to defend the city. Some of the richest citizens worked with the spade and the axe, and seven hundred negro slaves belonging to Tories were pressed into the service.

When the news of the fleet startled the City, President Rutledge sent out orders in all directions to hasten up the Militia of the County ; alarm signals were fired, and every man was put to his work. General Lee, with his usual energy, pressed forward the fort at Sullivan's Island, but was doubtful if it could be held. In a few days the Americans had collected between five and six thousand men ; and although undisciplined and badly armed, they were full of spirit.

General Clinton sent out a proclamation, promising pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and obey the laws made for them in England ; but the response there, too, was—

"We won't submit to tyranny !"

Colonels Gadsden and Thompson seconded General Lee's orders, and Colonel Moultrie said he would maintain the fort on Sullivan's Island to the last extremity.

On the 28th June, the ships crossed the bar : two fifty-gun ships, four frigates, and several smaller vessels, and with springs on their cables, opened their guns on the fort. The Thunderer, bomb, began to throw shells between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, and the anxious

inhabitants heard the furious cannonade throughout the day.

Colonel Moultrie, with three hundred and forty-four regular troops and a few militia, stuck to their guns in the fort, and were not appalled. Their ammunition was so short, that every gun was fired with deliberation, and was carefully aimed by an officer ; so that while thousands of balls from the ships were scattered wide, every one from the fort told. The ships were badly torn, and the slaughter on their decks was dreadful. Captain Morris of the Bristol ship, had his cable cut, and his arm shot away. Sir Peter Parker was wounded, and Lord Campbell—late Governor—was so severely hurt, that it caused his death. More than seventy shot took effect on the hull of the Bristol, and every man on her quarter-deck was swept off.

But the fire from the fort slackened, and the damaged sailors looked anxiously eastward for the coming of the regulars across Long Island, led by Cornwallis and Clinton, to make a land attack on the fort. They were kept back by the deep waters of the creek dividing the islands, which they could not ford, and by the riflemen and militia stationed on the eastern end of Sullivan's Island, commanded by Colonels Thompson, Clark, and Horry.

But again the guns of the fort began their work, and shot after shot came crashing into the ships ; for they had received a supply of powder from General Lee at Haddrell's Point, without which the fort must have been lost. The sailors, however, stood to their work, and fought with bravery and determination. The *Actæon* and *Sphinx* ran into one another, and the *Actæon* grounded, so that she could do no more effective work. But the bombardment was kept up till seven o'clock at night, and then the hot fire slackened, and ceased at nine. In the morning, the brave little garrison strained their eyes to see the ships. They had slipped their cables, and were gone.

The *Actæon* only remained, and with a cheer the Rebels put several shot into her, and prepared to carry her by boarding. Her case was desperate, and the crew soon set her on fire and left, with her flags still flying and her guns shotted. The Americans pulled aboard the blazing ship, tore down her colors, and brought them off; fired three of her guns after the *Commodore*, and then left. In half an hour, the noise of a fearful explosion told of her destruction.

In this gallant defense, the Americans lost but ten killed and twenty-two wounded. Charleston was saved, and the population, except the Tories, were raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm. It was becoming evident that men fighting for a principle could not easily be beaten.

The fleet retired from the coast, and sailed away to join Lord Howe in an attack upon New York.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE TORIES.

THE OFFICE-HOLDERS—EPISCOPALIANS—SANDEMANIANS—JOHN WESLEY'S ADDRESS—LEONARD AND ADAMS—MATHER BYLES—ACTIVE AND PASSIVE TORIES—IN NEW YORK—"THE ADDRESSEES"—THE COW-BOYS—DR. CHURCH—"HANG THE DEVILS!"—HOW THEY MADE TORIES INTO WHIGS—TORY WRITERS—LIVINGSTON'S STATEMENT—THE TORY RAIDS—LAWS AGAINST TORIES—CONFISCATIONS—ORDER OF CONGRESS—20,000 TORIES—CLAIMS UPON PARLIAMENT, \$40,000,000—\$15,500,000 GRANTED.

BUT the cause of American Liberty did not receive a united support, and the worst enemies of the country—in New England, too, as elsewhere—were among her own people. They were those who did not see the right and follow it—those who would not—and those who dared not.

If the people of a country be wise, honest, and united, no foreign enemies can subdue them. The worst enemies of New England in the Revolution were those of her own household; but in New England they were few, when counted with those of New York and the Southern Colonies.

The Tories comprised a large number, among whom were many rich, and cultivated, and kindly people: these last above all, needed watching, and were most dangerous; for the willful, and wicked, and mercenary pointed to them to excuse their own wrong doing. In looking at the harsh treatment of the Tories by the Rebels, it should be remembered that a covert enemy is more dangerous than an open one, and that the Tories comprised both of these.

The office-holders appointed by the English Government, opposed the Revolutionary acts of the colonies, to a man. They, of course, saw in any change, danger of loss

to themselves. Many men of property and character in Massachusetts were in favor of England, partly from conviction, and partly from fear. All who feared the people, and distrusted the wisdom of the masses, were averse to their taking power into their own hands. That large and often cultivated class, called "Conservatives," who hold by the Past, rather than hope for the Future, and are constitutionally timid, feared change: they were naturally Tories. Most of the Episcopalians in New England (though not in Virginia) opposed the Revolutionary movement. They had felt the oppression and contempt of the New England Congregationalists, and looked to the English Government and English Church for help. But in Virginia, where they were strong, this was not so; and there the Episcopalians were among the warmest assertors of the Rights of Man. The followers of Robert Sandeman were nearly all Loyalists, and many of them emigrated from Connecticut to New Brunswick.

SANDEMAN was a Scotchman who held peculiar religious views: such as—that an intellectual belief would ensure salvation, without faith; and that this intellectual belief was certain to induce Christian virtues. He held these so strongly and urgently, that he made a small sect; and in 1764 he came to Connecticut, and founded churches at Danbury and at some other places, where his followers were called "Sandemanians," and where some traces of them exist still.

John Wesley, the leader of the Methodists in England, opposed the Revolution, and sent over "A Calm Address to the American Colonies;" but it could not stop the course of events.

The Conservatives strongly urged that most vicious and indefensible doctrine, that "The Powers that be are of God;" and claimed entire submission to the decrees of the powers in England, and their agents in America. Leonard, in his *Massachusettensis*,¹—1774, appealed to the present

¹ Boston Ed., 1776.

distress and confusion, to show how unwise the "Patriots" or Rebels were: he thought none of the colonies out of New England would, by any possibility, be induced to join in the War. He stated what was true, that ministers who insisted on praying for the king according to the English liturgy, were driven from their churches, and that the mob spirit was aroused. John Adams answered his essays, in the newspapers, with his usual ability.

Mather Byles, a minister and a famous wit of Boston, was among the Tories, and continued the prayers for the king after the War broke out, as he had done before. This was resented by the Rebels; and when they took possession of Boston, he was confined in his own house, and a guard was stationed at the door. One day some of his acquaintances discovered him with a musket, marching up and down before his own door. They asked—What it meant? and he replied—

"That he had persuaded the soldier to do a little work for him, and was keeping guard over himself."

The guard was afterward taken off, renewed, and then removed altogether, so that Byles used to say—

"I was guarded, re-garded, and now I am dis-regarded."

The Tories were divided into two sorts, the active and the passive. In the latter were some of the most cultivated characters of New England. The active Tories, during the siege of Boston (as has been stated), enlisted themselves as king's troops: they did so elsewhere.

Dr. Auchmuty wrote from New York, to one of General Gage's officers (in April, 1775): "We have lately been plagued here with a rascally Whig mob, but they have effected nothing, only Sears, the king, was rescued at the jail door." "Our magistrates have not the spirit of a louse."

In New York there was at first a very large proportion of Tories. Their Governor and Council were appointed by the king, the soil was in few hands, and the masses were

almost without influence. In 1776, not less than twelve hundred and ninety-three persons, in the county of Queen's alone, professed themselves subject to the King. In Suffolk county, eight hundred enrolled themselves as King's militia.

When Governor Hutchinson left in disgrace for England, in 1774, he was presented with a Complimentary Address, signed by some two hundred of the first merchants, lawyers, and citizens of Boston, Salem, and Marblehead.¹ These men were known afterward as "Addressers," and were stigmatized for having acted against the interests of their country. Many of these were foremost as Tories, and fled when the British evacuated Boston. Some of them expressed contrition for what they had done, and were received again as good citizens and patriots.

Upward of eleven hundred (including women and children) retired with the troops from Boston, of whom one hundred and two were officials, and eighteen were clergymen. "One or two of them," wrote Washington, "have done what a great number ought to have done long ago, committed suicide."

He considered the property they had left behind justly exposed to confiscation.

There was a venal and bloody set which hung on the skirts of the British army, well known as "Cow-boys." They were plunderers and ruffians by profession, and came to have their name from their cattle-stealing. Some of the most cruel and disgraceful murders and barbarities of the war were perpetrated by them. Whenever they were caught, they were hung up at once, that the world might be rid of the breed, as of any other noisome beast.

The Tories were not without friends in the American camps. In October, 1775, great excitement was produced in Massachusetts by the discovery that Dr. Church, who had been a prominent

DR. CHURCH.

¹ Sabine's American Loyalists.

and active "patriot," was carrying on a secret correspondence with persons on board the English cruisers. He attempted an explanation, which was good for nothing ; was tried by the General Court of Massachusetts, and sentenced to close confinement in the jail at Norwich, Connecticut. The more excitable among the "Sons of Liberty" indulged in mobbing, tarring-and-feathering, and other violent proceedings against the more violent Tories ; and some said, "Persecution made half of the King's friends." The excitement between the two parties ran high, and those who suppose that at that day the New England men indulged only in Scripture phrases, and talked with measured and nasal tones, will read these extracts with interest—

The Committee of Safety of one of the Massachusetts towns, in their petition to the General Court, said :

"1st. Ever since our army retreated from New York, and the inhuman ravage of the British troops in the Jerseys, our inimical brethren have appeared with an insulting air, and have exerted themselves to intimidate weak minds by threatening speeches, saying the day was over with us.

"2d. The reflections on the General Court openly declaring that our Honorable Court of this State had made acts that were unjust respecting the last-raised recruits, declaring that the Committees or Selectmen dare as well be damned as draught them for the army, and that if they were draughted, they would rather fight against our own men than against our enemies."¹

Strong language was not uncommon :

"What do you intend to do with the Tories ?" asked the Rev. Mr. Newton of Captain Wells of Greenfield.

"What do with them ?" cried the Captain, bringing his fist down on the table among the plates ; "do with 'em ? Damn 'em, we mean to hang the devils !"

It was in Lenox that one day a well-known Tory was

¹ Holland's Western Mass., p. 217.

HOW THEY
MADE WHIGS.

caught, and taken before the Vigilance Committee, who told him he must give up his allegiance to George III., or hang for it. He told them to—"Hang, and be damned!" for he would be a subject of King George.

"Not in our town," the boys said; so they took him to the sign-post, and slipping a noose over his head, ran him up; in a few moments they let him down, and asked him—if he would recant?

"No!"

Up he went again, and with the same result. But on the third trial, he agreed to swing his hat and shout for liberty.

"Gentlemen," he said, "this is one way to make Whigs, but, by heavens, 'twill do it!"

Nearly all the Congregational or Independent pulpits were outspoken in favor of the Rebels: and of 37 newspapers in the Colonies in 1775, seven or eight only were in the interest of the King, and some five more went over to him during the war.

Joseph Green, Samuel Waterhouse, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, Jonathan Sewall, and Daniel Leonard wrote much against the Rebels in Massachusetts. In New York, Revs. Samuel Chandler, John Vardill, and Isaac Wilkins, were on the same side; and Rivington was considered so dangerous that Captain Sears destroyed his press.

In New Jersey, Governor Franklin—son of Benjamin Franklin—led the King's friends, and was active against the Americans, until it became necessary to put him in confinement.

The war carried on between Tories and Whigs was more merciless than any other, more cruel and wanton than that of the Indians.

Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, in his speech, 1777, said: "They—the Tories—have warred upon decrepid old age, warred upon defenseless youth. They have committed hostilities against the professors of literature, and the

ministers of religion, against public records and private monuments. They have butchered the wounded, asking for quarter—mangled the dead—violated the chastity of women—and profaned edifices dedicated to Almighty God.”

Joseph Galloway, himself a Loyalist, said : “ A solemn inquiry was made, by which it appears that no less than twenty-three Rapes were committed in one neighborhood in New Jersey ; some of them in presence of helpless husbands or unhappy parents, who could only deplore the savage brutality with unavailing tears and cries.”

The warfare waged by the Tories upon their neighbors, seems to have been revengeful and malignant. They not only disapproved the course taken by the Whigs, but, provoked by the taunts and persecutions to which in some quarters they had been subjected, they thirsted to put down the Rebel crew, and triumphantly resume their places. The most bloody and merciless expeditions were conducted by Tories ; such as the ravages of Sir John Johnson and his Indians in Western New York ; Tryon’s sacking and burning of Danbury, Fairfield, and New Haven ; Arnold’s destruction of New London ; and John Butler’s devilish doings at Wyoming.

Laws were made in Rhode Island against all who supplied the enemy with provisions, or gave them information.

In Connecticut, the Tories were not allowed to speak or write against Congress or the Assembly.

In Massachusetts, a man might be banished unless he would swear fealty to the cause of Liberty.

Severe laws were also passed against the Tories in New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia—and in nearly all the Colonies—now seaboard States.

John Jay thought the Confiscation Act of New York inexcusable and disgraceful.¹

In June, 1776, Congress ordered that no man charged with being a Tory should be injured in his person or prop-

¹ Letter to Governor Clinton, 1780.

erty, except the proceedings be duly ordered by some authorized Congress or Committee.¹

Not only were their estates declared confiscate, but many Loyalists, whose influence or action was feared, were confined to private houses, and some were sent to jails and to the "Simsbury Mines."²

Sabine estimates that as many as twenty thousand Tories took up arms against the Rebels, during the war; and among their leaders were the able General Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, William Stark, of New Hampshire, Sir John Johnson, Beverly Robinson, and Oliver De Lancey, of New York.

After the war, some of the Legislatures continued their hostility to the banished Tories, and refused them their rights or property; many were then forced to settle and cultivate New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; and by them Upper Canada was peopled.

A general amnesty would have been not only graceful, but politic.

A Board of Commissioners was appointed by Parliament, in 1783, to inquire into the circumstances, etc., of the Loyalists or Tories. It sat till 1789; but before 1784, two thousand and sixty-three claimants appeared, and their claims amounted to over £7,000,000 sterling.

The Commission had awarded £201,750 for £534,705 claimed.

In the end, some \$40,000,000 were claimed, and some fifteen and a half millions of dollars were paid by England to the Loyalists of America. Pecuniarily, therefore, they fared better than the Whigs, whose losses and sacrifices were as great, but who got no money payment for them.

¹ American Archives.

² Sabine, p. 84.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

INDEPENDENCE TALKED ABOUT.

THE IDEA—PATRICK HENRY'S POSITION—SAMUEL ADAMS'S POSITION—THEY OPPOSE CENTRALIZATION—LETTER TO ARTHUR LEE—WASHINGTON'S POSITION, 1774—GENERAL GREENE'S POSITION, 1775—THE KING'S SPEECH—NEW HAMPSHIRE INDEPENDENT—THOMAS PAINE—"COMMON SENSE"—THE COLONIES CONSENT.

It is not easy to see distinctly, how early in history, the idea of Independence took shape in the popular mind. To a few clear heads, self-government seemed from the first the only true theory of society; and in 1763, Patrick Henry, of Virginia, took the boldest positions, and advocated principles destructive to the existing theory and practice of Government. This man, with the outside manners and appearance of a working farmer, had within a nature as fervent as Luther's, a mind as clear as Williams's, a courage as bold as Putnam's, and an eloquence like Otis's, which carried along in its irresistible course, all who came within its influence. Until inspired with the Gospel of Liberty, his nature had lain dormant, and in his undertakings, as a farmer and merchant, he had failed. He was poor, without influence or respect; for he had acquired neither money, land, slaves, nor reputation; and he was nigh thirty years old, when he undertook, as a lawyer, to plead the cause of the people, against the claims of the Clergy before the Virginia Courts.

To most lawyers, the case seemed hopeless. But Henry, commencing in his plain, unaffected way, gradually rose in dignity, warmth, eloquence, and power, till his opponents fled the court, and judges and jury decided in his favor, without a moment's hesitation.

At this time he laid down such positions as this : That between the King and the People, there was a reciprocity of duties ; and that Government was a conditional compact, which, if violated by one party, implied the reciprocal discharge of the other.

This broad doctrine was well received by the people, and it is clear that the idea of subjection to the will of a King was inconsistent with it. Henry did not falter, but stood by his principle, and went whither it carried him, till in 1773, before the attack at Lexington, he saw plainly that we must strike for Independence, and in his impassioned way had declared—"We must fight !" He saw that the Aristocracy, who grasped and controlled the government and power of England, would not yield the right to tax the Colonies without a struggle ; and to him and a few others, it was only a question of time, when the struggle should begin.

Another man stood side by side with him in the front rank. This was SAMUEL ADAMS, one of the first, most able, intrepid, and indefatigable of the friends of liberty in Massachusetts. As early as 1743, he asserted that it was RIGHT to resist the supreme magistrate, in order to preserve the Commonwealth ; and this doctrine he lived to put in practice. He was called by his enemies "Samuel the Publican," because he had been a Tax Collector. In this office he seems to have been a defaulter, which is the only suspicion ever urged against him. Whatever it was, it was forgotten in the glory and purity of his riper years. Among the patriots of the Revolution, none was more incorruptible than he, and even Governor Hutchinson, whom he overthrew, was obliged to say—in reply to the question, Why he was not bought with an office ?—that his obstinacy and inflexible honesty of character could not be conciliated by any office whatever.

He devoted a long and active life to the advocacy of the principles of Liberty and Justice, rather than to the accumulation of money ; so he lived simply, and died

poor, but crowned with respect and honor. Among the men who initiated and carried forward the doctrines of individual liberty, no one united in himself so completely the three capacities which make up the man—to Think—to Speak—and to Act—as Samuel Adams. As a writer, Hutchinson asserts he began very poorly ; but by practice he came to be one of the clearest, most able, and forcible. As a speaker he was bold, manly, and vigorous ; and as an actor, he possessed a practical talent and a knowledge of men, which enabled him to organize masses, and to carry out his plans. In the darkest hours preceding and during the Revolutionary struggle, he was undismayed ; he stood like a rock, for he stood upon principles which were eternal. In short, in the true sense, he was a Democrat.

There is no doubt that he early saw that Independence—Self-government—was the only cure for the evils that the Colonies labored under ; but he was slow to speak, except to those he knew could hear it. In 1769, when reproached in town-meeting, that certain measures tended toward shaking off the dependence upon Great Britain, he said boldly in his speech—

“Independent we are, and independent we will be !”

The crowd shouted their assent, but the leaders then, and the property-men, trembled, and held back. But Adams never doubted it must come to that, and at home and abroad he stood by this principle, till Washington and Jay, Sherman and Jefferson, Hamilton and Madison, and the whole Congress of the United Colonies, stood by it too.

He opposed the Constitution as at first prepared, and for the same reason that Patrick Henry did. They both foresaw the dangers of CENTRALIZATION, of gathering all power into one hand, with a standing army to enforce it ; and he strenuously resisted some of its provisions, and asserted the Rights of the STATES. He finally acceded to it, after some changes ; but Henry did not. He op-

posed it persistently in the Virginia Legislature, but was beaten. Adams and Henry were right ; they truly foresaw the danger—it is the one which has introduced despotism and corruption, and has ruined nations.

The following extract from a letter, from a gentleman in London to a gentleman in Boston, will serve to show the state of feeling existing in England, and the dangers which the wise so early foresaw :

“London, April 27, 1774.—The stroke may first be felt in Boston ; but that man who does not perceive it meant against the whole line of Colonies, must be blind indeed. * * * Trust me, the views of the Administration are to subdue and enslave you.”¹

The quarrel went on with increasing heat, and it was becoming evident that force, not reason, must decide it. Samuel Adams wrote, April 14, 1774, to Arthur Lee in England : “Their opposition grows into a system. They are united and resolute ; and if the British Administration and Government do not return to the principles of moderation and equity, the evil which they profess to aim at preventing by their rigorous measures, will the sooner be brought to pass, viz., *the entire separation and independence of the Colonies*. * * * It requires but a small portion of the gift of discernment for any one to foresee that Providence will erect a mighty empire in America. * * * And that we shall be respected in England exactly in proportion to the firmness and strength of our opposition.”

But there is sufficient evidence that at that time the idea of Independence was vague, and had taken shape in few minds ; and those few were careful to whom they expressed so rash a notion.

The first Congress (1774), in their address to the people of Great Britain said : “You have been told we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that those are not facts but calumnies.”

¹ American Archives, vol. v.

In 1774 (Oct. 9th), Washington, then a member of the first Congress, wrote to Captain Mackenzie of the British army, then in Boston : " Although you are taught to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independency, etc., give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that Government, or any other upon this Continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence ; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of a free State, and without which life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure."¹

At the close of the first Congress (autumn of 1774), many, perhaps most, supposed that the grievances would be redressed ; and Richard Henry Lee said to John Adams :

" You will be completely relieved, all the offensive acts will be repealed."

Nearly all the leading men in the Colonies believed in 1774 that proper representations to the English Ministry would insure redress and accommodation, upon fair and just terms. But their petitions were treated with neglect or contempt, and the speech of the King's (Oct., 1775), after the fights of Lexington and Bunker Hill, seemed to force either an appeal to arms, or entire submission.

The second Virginia Convention met at Richmond in March, 1775. There Patrick Henry proposed resolutions for the organizing and arming the people. In advocating and defending these resolutions, he said, in his clearest and most emphatic way : " We must fight ! I repeat it, sir—we must fight ! An appeal to Arms and the God of Hosts is all that is left us !"

General Greene advocated Independence, Oct. 13th, 1775 : " We had as well be in earnest first as last, for we have no alternative but to fight it out or be slaves."

On the 10th of February, 1776, Washington wrote to

¹ Sparks's Life of Washington, vol. i., p. 121.

Joseph Reed : " With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an accommodation since I heard of the measures which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker Hill fight. The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair ; and if every man was of my mind, the Ministers of Great Britain should know, in a few words, upon what issue the cause should be met."

The King's Speech, in part, was as follows :

" The rebellious War now levied is become more general, and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent Empire. The object is too important, the spirit of the *British* Nation too high, the resources with which *God hath* blessed her too numerous, to give up so many Colonies, which she has planted with great industry, nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at much expense of blood and treasure.

" It is now become the part of wisdom and (in its effects) of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions."¹

This speech stiffened many for the contest, who up to this time had cherished hopes of an accommodation. Submission or war was the only alternative.

After the flight of Governor Wentworth from New Hampshire, Congress took a bold step, which certainly looked towards independence. They authorized that Colony to form and administer her own Government (Nov., 1775.)² This, New Hampshire went forward to do. It may fairly be said that she was forced to do it, yet it helped strongly to ripen the idea of Independence, by showing the entire practicability of Self-government, if not its desirableness.

The temper of the people was getting roused, and in all quarters were signs that the public mind was fast adopting the idea of Independ-

THOMAS
PAINE'S "COMMON
SENSE."

¹ King's Speech, October 20, 1775.

² Am. Archives, vol. v.

ence. At this juncture a bold, a masterly pamphlet appeared, which was seized and read with avidity. It was called "Common Sense," and was written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, who held and expressed the most extreme opinions upon the Right of Man. He had been a staymaker in England, and was ruined ; when, in the winter of 1774, by Franklin's advice, he came to America, and rapidly grasped and comprehended the position of affairs. Bold, clear, and comprehensive, his pamphlet hit the mark, and reached the common sense of all classes of people. General Lee wrote to Washington (24th Jan., 1776) : "Have you seen the pamphlet 'Common Sense?' I never saw such a masterly, irresistible performance."

The title will best convey a general sense of its purpose:

"COMMON SENSE :

"Addressed to the Inhabitants of America, on the following interesting Subjects, viz. :

"I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in general ; with concise remarks on the English Constitution.

"II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.

"III. Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs.

"IV. Of the Present Ability of America ; with some Miscellaneous Reflections."

"To which is added an appendix.

"Man knows no master save creating Heaven,
Or those whom choice or common good ordain."

THOMSON."

A few of his axioms may be interesting here :

"Society," he says, "in every state is a blessing ; but government in its best state is but a necessary evil ; in its worst state an intolerable one.¹ * * *

"Here, too," he said, "is the design and end of government, viz., Freedom and Security. * * *

¹ Washington afterward said, briefly—"The best government is that which governs least."

“Absolute governments (though the disgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are simple : * * * if the people suffer, they know the head from which the suffering springs; know, likewise, the remedy. * * *

“Government by kings was first introduced into the world by the heathen, from whom the children of Israel copied the custom. * * *

“Monarchy is ranked in Scripture as one of the sins of the Jews, for which a curse in reserve is denounced against them.”

As to the cause of the colonies, he said—“The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affairs of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. * * *

“But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. The phrase, *parent*, or *mother country*, hath been Jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low, political design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds.”

He describes those who favored reconciliation with England, as follows : “Interested men, who are not to be trusted ; weak men, who *can not* see ; prejudiced men, who *will not* see ; and a certain set of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deserves : and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three. * * *

“But the most powerful of all arguments is, that nothing but Independence, *i. e.*, a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent, and preserve it from civil wars.

“But where, say some, is the King of America ? I'll tell you, friend : he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind, like the royal brute of Britain. Yet, that we may not appear to be defective, even in earthly honors,

let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the Charter ; let it be brought forth, placed on the Divine law—the Word of God ; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America *the law is King*. For, as in absolute Governments, the King is law, so in free countries, the law ought to be King, and there ought to be no other.

“ O ! ye that love mankind ! ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth ! Every spot of the Old World is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O ! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

“ Let the names of Whig and Tory be extinct ; and let none other be heard among us than those of a good citizen, an open and resolute friend, and a virtuous supporter of the Rights of Mankind, and of the Free and Independent States of America.”

Paine was thirty-seven years old, when he arrived in America [1774], and was by birth a Quaker.

His *Common Sense* was published in January, 1776, and, as Dr. Rush said, “burst from the Press, with an effect which has rarely been produced by types and paper, in any age or country.”

Ramsay (in his *History of the Revolution*) speaks of the surprising effects of “*Common Sense* ;” and Gordon says, no publication so much promoted the cause of Independence as that. The sentiments which are now adopted, were then strange, and Paine found difficulty in procuring a publisher to undertake it. After it had made its popularity, he presented the copyright to each State, so that its surprising sale failed to enrich him.

Paine served as a volunteer in the army, under General Washington, and was constantly writing on the side

of the Rebels. Most of his papers appeared under the title of "The Crisis," and had a most invigorating effect upon individuals, the army, and upon public bodies. He was afterward [1777] elected Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and in 1781 accompanied Colonel Laurens to France, where they obtained a loan of ten millions of livres, and a present of six millions.¹

After the war, Washington used all his influence to have Congress make some compensation to Mr. Paine for his writings, and in August, 1785, they passed a highly complimentary resolution, and made a grant to him of three thousand dollars. Pennsylvania also gave him five hundred pounds; and New York made him a donation of a fine estate, of three hundred acres of land, near New Rochelle.

Things were now rapidly reaching a climax.

Franklin wrote to Josiah Quincy, April 15, 1776, as to the Independence of the Colonies:

"I can only answer, at present, that nothing seems wanting but that *general consent*. The novelty of the thing deters some, the doubts of success others, the vain hope of reconciliation many."²

Still, as late as May, 1776, there were members in Congress who feared to act. They held back, and proposed plans of reconciliation, forgetting that any honorable terms would be rejected, if the Colonies showed themselves weak and divided. At this time Washington wrote, approving the declarations of the Virginia Legislature in favor of Independence. "Things," he said, "have come to such a pass now, as to convince us that we have nothing more to expect from the justice of Great Britain."³

The time drew near, and public expression indicated that some decisive step was about to be taken.

On the 10th of April, the General Assembly of Massachusetts requested the people to give instructions on the

¹ Preface to his Works.

² American Archives, vol. v.

³ Sparks's Life of Washington, vol. i., p. 166.

subject of Independence. From prudential considerations, she who had been foremost, now held back, and her Assembly, by formal vote, approved of Independence on the 3d of July.¹ North Carolina, in Convention, on the 22d of April, authorized her Representatives in Congress, to concur in declaring Independence. The Convention of Virginia proposed it on the 17th of May. Rhode Island did the same. Connecticut, on the 14th of June, instructed her delegates to consent ; on the 15th of June, New Hampshire did likewise ; and on the 21st, New Jersey instructed her delegates to act as their judgments should dictate. The Conservatives of Maryland at first forbade their Representatives to vote for Independence, but they were overcome at last, and mainly through the exertions of Samuel Chase. Georgia and South Carolina took no action ; and Pennsylvania, after having taken ground against it, yielded, and the Convention of 24th of June, gave their consent.²

¹ Gordon, vol. ii., p. 269.

² Lossing, vol. ii., p. 70.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED.

LEE'S RESOLUTION—COMMITTEE APPOINTED—JEFFERSON—ADAMS—FRANKLIN—SHERMAN—
LIVINGSTON—THE 4TH OF JULY, 1776—IN THE STREETS—THE VOTE UNANIMOUS—
"THE UNITED STATES"—HOW RECEIVED—IN THE ARMY—THE LAST STEP TAKEN.

ON the 8th of June, 1776,¹ Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, acted upon the instructions of his constituents, and in a clear, ringing voice, read to the Congress the following resolution :

"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States ; and that all political connection between us and Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

For a moment there was silence ; then John Adams, of Massachusetts, simply and manfully seconded the resolution ; but neither of their names were entered on the Journals, lest they should be hanged for treason. It was decided to postpone its consideration till the 1st of July, and that a Committee to prepare a Declaration should be appointed (June 10) ; they were, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York.

Jefferson was a tall man, with a mild countenance ; his words in debate were few, but his thoughts were quick, clear, and massive. They impressed the mind of his country, and have left their mark on the history of the age. He was then 33 years old, well cultivated, and a ready writer. Richard Henry Lee was the most prominent and

¹ Journals of Congress.

brilliant of the Virginia patriots ; but he had enemies, and Jefferson was put forward by them to act upon this important committee. Through life he continued to be among the foremost thinkers, and one of the most prominent actors in American affairs. He was a man of whom Virginia was then justly proud, and one whom the country has since acknowledged amongst her greatest men.

Adams was then 41 years old, the son of a mechanic of Braintree, Massachusetts. He graduated at Harvard, and early enlisted himself with Samuel Adams, and other leading patriots, on the side of Liberty against Prerogative. He was a successful lawyer, and a bold and able speaker. With indefatigable industry, and a clear, strong mind, he became a leading man in the Congress and the Country. His manners were courteous, and though his temper was sharp, and his prejudices came to be bitter, he lived and died full of honors and respect.

Franklin is well known as one of the oldest and wisest members of the great Congress. He had then arrived at the age of seventy, and was eminent at home and abroad as a statesman and philosopher. Franklin had that happy temperament, which enabled him to live easily among the high or the low, the base or the noble, and to direct all toward his own ends, which were mainly worthy and true. He devoted himself to the material advancement of men, confident that in that lay the foundation of virtue and improvement ; and his maxims rarely rise above that worldly wisdom easily appreciated by common minds. His benevolent face, and picturesque person, were conspicuous in the halls of Congress, where his practical sagacity was always exercised to forward the cause of humanity and justice.

Sherman was the representative man of a sterling class in New England ; shrewd, reliable, and conscientious, where he stepped there he stood, firm as a rock. There are many such in New England. His counsels were judicious, and always heeded ; and though he moved slowly,

he never faltered. He was then fifty-five years old, and in his prime.

Livingston, of New York, was a noted member of the Congress, and the man to face and overcome a difficulty—active, prompt, and energetic, he was always ready to stand forward to advocate and sustain the cause which his impulses and his principles told him was right. Being the owner of large estates on the Hudson, few men personally had more at stake than he. But his talents and money were at the service of his cause and country. He was then thirty years old, and the youngest member of the Committee of Five.

The form and principles of this State paper were discussed by these five men, and then Jefferson was requested to make a draft of their Declaration. He was selected to do this rather than Adams, for these reasons: Jefferson was a Virginian—he was a southern man; his draft would not be sharply criticised, for he had not been an extreme advocate of Independence; and, as Adams said, “I had a great opinion of the elegance of his pen, and none at all of my own.”¹ He, therefore, took the minutes, and made the draft, which, with some alterations, was adopted. It was politic in the New England men to put Jefferson forward, for Massachusetts had been so active and prominent in hastening the crisis, that some jealousy was felt lest her delegates should monopolize too much attention.

The draft prepared by Jefferson was submitted to the Committee, and was somewhat altered and amended, mostly with the pen of Adams. One of Jefferson’s most pointed and remarkable positions was the following charge upon the King (quoted ante, p. 194.)

“And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguishing dye, he is now exciting those very people (the Slaves) to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty, of which *he* has deprived them, by

¹ Adams’s Autobiography.

murdering the people upon whom he obtruded them—thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urged them to commit against the LIVES of another.”

Such were the stern words of a Virginian respecting Slavery, when these Colonies were struggling for their own liberties. Some other changes also were made, both by the Committee of Five, and by the Committee of the Whole, none of which were very important.

On the 28th of June, the Committee appeared at the bar of the House, and, through their Chairman, Thomas Jefferson, presented their Draft. It was read in profound silence, and listened to with intense interest. Through the first, second, and third days of July it was discussed in Committee of the Whole, and each paragraph received assent or alteration.¹

On the 4th of July—John Hancock, the President of Congress in the Chair—Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, reported that the Committee of the Whole had agreed upon a Declaration which they desired him to present.

The Declaration of Independence was then read, beginning as follows :

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

BY THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, JULY 4, 1776.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind

¹ American Archives, vol. v.

requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. (See Appendix.)

Words which have since been denied by men, whose minds were blighted by the infection of slavery, but which should not be forgotten by those who love freedom, and honor their fathers.

While this was being read in the Halls of Congress, the streets were crowded with citizens, anxiously awaiting the final decision. In the steeple of Independence Hall, stood the old bell-man, waiting to sound that bell, which bore as its motto—

“Liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof.”

At two o’clock, the final vote was announced by Secretary Thomson.

The vote was unanimous in its favor, from the thirteen United Colonies. Thenceforth they became “The United States.”

John Hancock signed the Declaration that day, and it thus went forth to the world.

On the 2d of August, fifty-four delegates affixed their signatures to this noble Declaration, which was afterward signed by Thomas McKean, of Delaware, and Matthew Thornton, of New Hampshire.

When Secretary Thomson declared the unanimous vote, the consecrated bell pealed out the news, and thrilled the hearts of the crowd, from whom went up shout after shout, and bonfires, cannon, and illuminations, spoke the assent of the nation.

The sound crossed the broad Atlantic, and reached the ears of king-ridden Europe. The old world was beginning to awake, and this cry for liberty startled their dreams.

Throughout the Colonies the Declaration was received with joy and hope ; for the people had rapidly ripened, and men now felt that the die was cast, and that "who would be free, himself must strike the blow." Thenceforth was no doubt—the end must be Liberty or Slavery.

On the 9th of July, the Declaration reached the army, at its head-quarters in New York.

IT REACHES
THE ARMY.

Toward sunset, when nature was sinking to rest, and the sun was casting those long, summer shadows over the landscape, the divisions of the army were drawn out under arms. Washington rode with his staff along the lines ; all knew that news had arrived, and the time was full of expectation. At a given signal the Declaration of Independence was read before each division, and with heads uncovered, every man listened to those words which made him thenceforth either a soldier of liberty, or a traitor to the king.

When the reading was finished, the enthusiasm could not be restrained, cheers rent the sky, and the soldiers embraced one another in excitement. Tears gathered in the eyes of stalwart men, and their Chief covered his head and rode to his quarters, determined to sacrifice life, property, all but honor, in the service of liberty, and to secure the rights of a man, for himself and his fellow-countrymen.

Independence was declared, but Independence was not yet won.

New England was now to fight for her liberties, and gain them ; there was no retreat.

CONCLUSION.

WE have now made our way through a long stretch of historical forest : our eyes have rested here and there upon a giant trunk, an open glade, or a fragile flower ; we have heard the singing of birds, the growling of beasts, and the sounds of storms. We have reached a stopping-place ; and those who have come so far will perhaps pardon a few words more.

New England has been looked at by some persons as a sterile, chilly, cheerless region, occupied by a cold-blooded, narrow-minded, selfish, long-faced race of Puritans and workers : by others, as a kind of Holy Land where all the men were saintly and brave, and all the women virtuous ; and much has been written and said to support both these views. After an extended examination, I am satisfied that both of them are superficial only, while the central life of New England has been sound and true. With little reverence for the past, there or elsewhere, I have looked into it to learn, if possible, the secrets of its failures and successes ; and I have written for the young, upon whom rest our future hopes.

It may not be improper to state a few of those political principles which appear to be accepted as true ; and it may help to a better understanding of these pages and of New England civilization.

First : the grand purpose of all history, from the beginning, has been the development of the perfect man. The business of the state, therefore, should be, to secure the largest liberty to each individual in it, so that he may develop the full and perfect powers of his spiritual, mental, and physical nature—the end of all, being the Self-government of each.

Second : the State is society organized—a combination of all to protect the individual rights of each against the encroachment or tyranny of any.

Third : the State pronounces what is LAW—and all true law is of God—under the protection of which every individual should be free to grow and to act. Law must, therefore, be based upon justice and right, for no state can sustain any member of it in doing wrong, without infinite mischief and ultimate ruin.

From these premises, it is clear that a State is good or bad exactly in the degree in which it secures to each and all liberty to act out their individual natures according to the true principles of humanity and justice. Perfect society is complete Individuality acting in harmony with true Law. The love of society is one of the strongest instincts of man's nature ; it is a necessity. A hermit, therefore, is a monster, and anarchy impossible. It is also true, that change and re-formation are a law of nature, opposed by stupidity, timidity, and selfish inaction. It is clear, too, that Governments have heretofore been organized and upheld by the few for their own benefit, and the world has had only aristocracies and class legislation. The Republics of Greece and Rome were not republics, for they rested on a writhing people held in slavery. No such governments can or ought to continue long in peace, for revolt is the only remedy for the oppressed. Whenever in these pages the word "Democracy" is used, it is in its old sense—to express a State whose grand purpose is to sustain and extend the rights of every man, not a State which sustains or extends any wrong against the individual.

The history of the past surely teaches us not to put our trust in princes, or politicians, or bankers, or scholars, who have so constantly sacrificed or misled those who trusted them : the People, however poor or laborious, must watch those who aspire to lead them, with sleepless caution, and must learn to trust only themselves and God.

These simple views of political and social science have been established through much suffering, and were

reached for by a sort of instinct through the first centuries of New England.

It should be remembered, that a large part, perhaps the larger part, of the New England colonists, were not puritans at all, but simply self-seekers who came over to get good meadow land ; while the true puritans were inspired with the love of God, as well as of meadow land. The last have been held responsible for the vices of all, which is not a fair judgment. Yet it is not to be denied that an extravagant thrift, an inordinate desire for material wealth, has injured the good name of New England ; that it has crippled her progress and weakened her influence, and that it is difficult for the best there altogether to escape the evil effects of its bad atmosphere. Still, her history is valuable ; and the following positions, the result of inherent tendencies of the human mind, are confirmed by the experience of the New England men.

First : that men can best govern themselves and make their own laws, and that the sooner they begin to do it, the sooner they will learn to do it well.

Second : that the Town government is the true one, for whatever can be done by the town should not be done by the State ; the centralizing of power being sure to result in abuse and tyranny.

Third : that the town-house and school-house should stand side by side.

Fourth : that religious freedom commonly precedes civil, but they are not far apart, and are not to be feared, but encouraged.

Fifth : that men who have faith in themselves will have faith in others and in God. The puritans appealed from the constable to conscience in old England, from the King to God in New England, and were strong.

Sixth : that resistance to the death to wrong legislation is wise and right, and submission to it pernicious. The life and death of Hampden in old England, and the end of the Stamp tax and Tea duty in New England, prove this.

Seventh : that citizens must be their own soldiers, and do their own fighting, if they would be free. And, in conclusion, that just so far as the laws and government are just and merciful, will a State or society be safe, strong, and prosperous.

These principles and positions—more or less present to the best minds of the puritans—are hardly doubted by their descendants, now countless as the leaves of the forest. And while it can not be safely asserted, that the Mayflower puritans saw or knew to what they were advancing, it can be said, that whatever State or individual goes forward, as they did, with an honest purpose, will not go far wrong.

With the events recorded in this volume, the distinct Colonial life of New England ceases, and henceforth her history is interwoven with that of these United States. Her influence has not ceased : she has done much to colonize and civilize the wide western prairies, and wherever her men and women go, order, decency, industry, and education prevail over barbarism and violence. But she has more work to do ; we may hope that she will shake off that old man of the sea who hangs upon her—may more fully learn that principle is above profit, and a sound heart is better than a silver dollar—that she will lay her hand to the building up of galleries, and museums, and libraries as well as of mills and workshops ; and that she will not fear to meet and drive back the black brood of Slavery to its own place, and assert, and maintain, and extend the rule of Right over Might ; so that in the future, Democracy—the rights of all—may everywhere prevail over Aristocracy—which secures the privileges of the few, but perpetuates the wrongs of the many.

A P P E N D I X.

- I.—WESTMINSTER SHORTER CATECHISM.
- II.—BODY OF LIBERTIES.
- III.—ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.
- IV.—MASSACHUSETTS AND CONNECTICUT SLAVE LAWS.
- V.—CENSUS.
- VI.—NAMES OF SIGNERS OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
- VII.—CHRONOLOGY.

I.

THE SHORTER CATECHISM,

AGREED UPON BY THE REVEREND ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

Quest. *What is the chief end of man?*

Ans. Man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy him forever.

Q. 2. *What rule hath God given to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him?*

A. The word of God which is contained in the scriptures of the old and new testament is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify God and enjoy him.

Q. 3. *What do the scriptures principally teach?*

A. The scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requireth of man.

Q. 4. *What is God?*

A. God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.

Q. 5. *Are there more Gods than one?*

A. There is but ONE only, the living and true GOD.

Q. 6. *How many persons are there in the God-head?*

A. There are three persons in the God-head, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one GOD, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

Q. 7. *What are the decrees of God?*

A. The decrees of God are his eternal purpose, according to the counsel of his own will, whereby for his own glory he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass.

Q. 8. *How doth God execute his decrees?*

A. God executeth his decrees in the works of creation and providence.

Q. 9. *What is the work of Creation?*

A. The work of creation is God's making all things of nothing by the word of his power, in the space of six days, and all very good.

Q. 10. *How did God create man?*

A. God created man male and female after his own image, in knowledge, righteousness and holiness, with dominion over the creatures.

Q. 11. *What are God's works of providence?*

A. God's works of providence are his most holy, wise and powerful, preserving and governing all his creatures and all their actions.

Q. 12. *What special act of providence did God exercise toward man in the estate wherein he was created?*

A. When God had created man, he entered into a covenant of life with him upon condition of perfect obedience, forbidding him to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, upon pain of death.

Q. 13. *Did our first parents continue in the estate wherein they were created?*

A. Our first parents being left to the freedom of their own will, fell from the estate wherein they were created, by sinning against God.

Q. 14. *What is sin?*

A. Sin is any want of conformity unto, or transgression of, the law of God.

Q. 15. *What was the sin whereby our first parents fell from the estate wherein they were created?*

A. The sin whereby our first parents fell from the estate wherein they were created, was their eating the forbidden fruit.

Q. 16. *Did all mankind fall in Adam's first transgression?*

A. The covenant being made with Adam, not only for himself, but for his posterity, all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him in his first transgression.

Q. 17. *Into what estate did the fall bring mankind?*

A. The fall brought mankind into an estate of sin and misery.

Q. 18. *Wherein consists the sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell?*

A. The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell, consists in the guilt of *Adam's* first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature, which is commonly called original sin, together with all actual transgressions which proceed from it.

Q. 19. *What is the misery of that estate whereinto man fell?*

A. All mankind by the fall lost communion with God, are under his wrath and curse, and so made liable to the miseries in this life, to death itself, and to the pains of hell forever.

Q. 20. *Did God leave all mankind to perish in the state of sin and misery?*

A. God having out of his mere good pleasure from all eternity elected some to everlasting life, did enter into a covenant of grace, to deliver them out of a state of sin and misery, and to bring them into a state of salvation by a Redeemer.

Q. 21. *Who is the Redeemer of God's elect?*

A. The only Redeemer of God's elect, is the Lord Jesus Christ, who being the eternal Son of God, became man, and so was, and continues to be God and man, in two distinct natures, and one person forever.

Q. 22. *How did Christ being the Son of God become man?*

A. Christ the Son of God became man by taking to himself a true body and a reasonable soul, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the virgin *Mary*, and born of her, and yet without sin.

Q. 23. *What offices doth Christ execute as our Redeemer?*

A. Christ as our Redeemer executes the office of a prophet, of a priest, and of a king, both in his estate of humiliation and exaltation.

Q. 24. *How doth Christ execute the office of a prophet?*

A. Christ executeth the office of a prophet in revealing to us by his word and spirit, the will of God for our salvation.

Q. 25. *How doth Christ execute the office of a priest?*

A. Christ executeth the office of a priest in his once offering up himself a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice, and reconcile us to God, and in making continual intercession for us.

Q. 26. *How doth Christ execute the office of a king?*

A. Christ executeth the office of a king in subduing us to himself, in ruling and defending us and in restraining and conquering all his and our enemies.

Q. 27. *Wherein did Christ's humiliation consist?*

A. Christ's humiliation consisted in his being born and that in a low condition, made under the law, undergoing the miseries of this life, the wrath of God, and the cursed death of the cross, in being buried and continuing under the power of death for a time.

Q. 28. *Wherein consists Christ's exaltation?*

A. Christ's exaltation consisteth in his rising again from the dead on the third day, in ascending up into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of God the Father, and in coming to judge the world at the last day.

Q. 29. *How are we made partakers of the redemption purchased by Christ?*

A. We are made partakers of the redemption purchased by Christ by the effectual application of it to us by his holy Spirit.

Q. 30. *How doth the Spirit apply to us the redemption purchased by Christ?*

A. The Spirit applyeth to us the redemption purchased by Christ, by working faith in us, and thereby uniting us to Christ in our effectual calling.

Q. 31. *What is effectual calling?*

A. Effectual calling is the work of God's Spirit, whereby convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ, and renewing our wills, he doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ, freely offered to us in the gospel.

Q. 32. *What benefits do they that are effectually called partake of in this life?*

A. They that are effectually called do in this life partake of justification, adoption, and sanctification, and the several benefits which in this life do either accompany or flow from them.

Q. 33. *What is justification?*

A. Justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein he pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in his

sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, and received by faith alone.

Q. 34. *What is adoption?*

A. Adoption is an act of God's free grace, whereby we are received into the number, and have a right to all the privileges of the sons of God.

Q. 35. *What is sanctification?*

A. Sanctification is the work of God's free grace, whereby we are renewed in the whole man, after the image of God, and are enabled more and more to die unto sin, and to live unto righteousness.

Q. 36. *What are the benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification?*

A. The benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification, are assurance of God's love, peace of conscience, joy in the holy Ghost, increase of grace, and perseverance therein to the end.

Q. 37. *What benefits do believers receive from Christ at their death?*

A. The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory, and their bodies being still united to Christ do rest in their graves till the resurrection.

Q. 38. *What benefits do believers receive from Christ at the resurrection?*

A. At the resurrection believers being raised up to glory, shall be openly acknowledged and acquitted in the day of judgment, and made perfectly blessed in the full enjoyment of God to all eternity.

Q. 39. *What is the duty which God requires of man?*

A. The duty which God requires of man, is obedience to his revealed will.

Q. 40. *What did God at first reveal to man for the rule of his obedience?*

A. The rule which God at first revealed to man for his obedience was the moral law.

Q. 41. *Where is the moral law summarily comprehended?*

A. The moral law is summarily comprehended in the ten commandments.

Q. 42. *What is the sum of the ten commandments ?*

A. The sum of the ten commandments is, to love the Lord our God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength, and with all our mind, and our neighbor as ourselves.

Q. 43. *What is the preface to the ten commandments ?*

A. The preface to the ten commandments is in these words, *I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage.*

Q. 44. *What doth the preface to the ten commandments teach us ?*

A. The preface to the ten commandments teacheth us, that because God is the Lord, and our God and Redeemer, therefore we are bound to keep all his commandments.

Q. 45. *Which is the first commandment ?*

A. The first commandment is, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.*

Q. 46. *What is required in the first commandment ?*

A. The first commandment requireth us to know and acknowledge God to be the only true God, and our God, and to worship and glorify him accordingly.

Q. 47. *What is forbidden in the first commandment ?*

A. The first commandment forbiddeth the denying or not worshiping and glorifying the true God, as God, and our God, and giving that worship and glory to any other which is due to him alone.

Q. 48. *What are we especially taught by these words (before me) in the first commandment ?*

A. These words (*before me*) in the first commandment, teach us, that God who seeth all things, taketh notice of, and is much displeased with the sin of having any other God.

Q. 49. *Which is the second commandment ?*

A. The second commandment is, *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth ; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me,*

and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.

Q. 50. *What is required in the second commandment ?*

A. The second commandment requireth the receiving, observing, and keeping pure and entire all such religious worship and ordinances, as God hath appointed in his word.

Q. 51. *What is forbidden in the second commandment ?*

A. The second commandment forbiddeth the worshiping of God by images or any other way not appointed by his word.

Q. 52. *What are the reasons annexed to the second commandment ?*

A. The reasons annexed to the second commandment, are God's sovereignty over us, his propriety in us, and the zeal he hath to his own worship.

Q. 53. *Which is the third commandment ?*

A. The third commandment is, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain.*

Q. 54. *What is required in the third commandment ?*

A. The third commandment requireth the holy and reverent use of God's names, titles, attributes, ordinances, word and works.

Q. 55. *What is forbidden in the third commandment ?*

A. The third commandment forbiddeth all profaning or abusing of any thing whereby God maketh himself known.

Q. 56. *What is the reason annexed to the third commandment ?*

A. The reason annexed to the third commandment is, That however the breakers of this commandment may escape punishment from men, yet the Lord our God will not suffer them to escape his righteous judgment.

Q. 57. *Which is the fourth commandment ?*

A. The fourth commandment is, *Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy : six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God ; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates, for in six days the Lord*

made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.

Q. 58. What is required in the fourth commandment ?

A. The fourth commandment requireth the keeping holy to God such set times as he hath appointed in his word, expressly one whole day in seven to be a holy Sabbath to himself.

Q. 59. Which day of the seven hath God appointed to be the weekly sabbath ?

A. From the beginning of the world, to the resurrection of Christ, God appointed the seventh day of the week to be the weekly sabbath, and the first day of the week ever since to continue to the end of the world, which is the Christian Sabbath.

Q. 60. How is the sabbath to be sanctified ?

A. The sabbath is to be sanctified by a holy resting all that day, even from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days, and spending the whole time in public and private exercises of God's worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy.

Q. 61. What is forbidden in the fourth commandment ?

A. The fourth commandment forbiddeth the omission or careless performance of the duties required, and the profaning the day by idleness, or doing that which is in itself sinful, or by unnecessary thoughts, words, or works, about worldly employments or recreations.

Q. 62. What are the reasons annexed to the fourth commandment ?

A. The reasons annexed to the fourth commandment, are God's allowing us six days of the week for our own employment, his challenging a special propriety in the seventh, his own example, and his blessing the seventh day.

Q. 63. Which is the fifth commandment ?

A. The fifth commandment is, *Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*

Q. 64. What is required in the fifth commandment ?

A. The fifth commandment requireth the preserving the honor, and performing the duties belonging to every one in

their several places and relations, as superiors, inferiors, or equals.

Q. 65. *What is forbidden in the fifth commandment?*

A. The fifth commandment forbiddeth the neglecting of, or doing any thing against the honor and duty which belongeth to every one in their several places and relations.

Q. 66. *What is the reason annexed to the fifth commandment?*

A. The reason annexed to the fifth commandment is a promise of long life and prosperity (as far as it shall serve for God's glory and their own good), to all such as keep this commandment.

Q. 67. *Which is the sixth commandment?*

A. The sixth commandment is, *Thou shalt not kill.*

Q. 68. *What is required in the sixth commandment?*

A. The sixth commandment requireth all lawful endeavors to preserve our own life, and the life of others.

Q. 69. *What is forbidden in the sixth commandment?*

A. The sixth commandment forbiddeth the taking away our own life, or the life of our neighbor unjustly, and whatsoever tendeth thereunto.

Q. 70. *Which is the seventh commandment?*

A. The seventh commandment is, *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*

Q. 71. *What is required in the seventh commandment?*

A. The seventh commandment requireth the preservation of our own and our neighbor's chastity, in heart, speech, and behavior.

Q. 72. *What is forbidden in the seventh commandment?*

A. The seventh commandment forbiddeth all unchaste thoughts, words, and actions.

Q. 73. *Which is the eighth commandment?*

A. The eighth commandment is, *Thou shalt not steal.*

Q. 74. *What is required in the eighth commandment?*

A. The eighth commandment requireth the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others.

Q. 75. *What is forbidden in the eighth commandment?*

A. The eighth commandment forbiddeth whatsoever doth,

or may unjustly hinder our own or our neighbor's wealth or outward estate.

Q. 76. *Which is the ninth commandment?*

A. The ninth commandment is, *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.*

Q. 77. *What is required in the ninth commandment?*

A. The ninth commandment requireth the maintaining and promoting of truth between man and man, and of our own and our neighbor's good name, especially in witness bearing.

Q. 78. *What is forbidden in the ninth commandment?*

A. The ninth commandment forbiddeth whatsoever is prejudicial to truth, or injurious to our own or our neighbor's good name.

Q. 79. *Which is the tenth commandment?*

A. The tenth commandment is, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.*

Q. 80. *What is required in the tenth commandment?*

A. The tenth commandment requireth full contentment with our own condition, with a right and charitable frame of spirit toward our neighbor, and all that is his.

Q. 81. *What is forbidden in the tenth commandment?*

A. The tenth commandment forbiddeth all discontentment with our own estate, envying or grieving at the good of our neighbor, and all inordinate motions and affections to any thing that is his.

Q. 82. *Is any man able perfectly to keep the commandments of God?*

A. No mere man since the fall is able in this life perfectly to keep the commandments of God, but daily doth break them in thought, word, and deed.

Q. 83. *Are all transgressions of the law equally heinous?*

A. Some sins in themselves, and by reason of several aggravations, are more heinous in the sight of God than others.

Q. 84. *What doth every sin deserve?*

A. Every sin deserves God's wrath and curse both in this life, and that which is to come.

Q. 85. *What doth God require of us that we may escape his wrath and curse due to us for sin?*

A. To escape the wrath and curse of God due to us for sin, God requireth of us faith in Jesus Christ, repentance unto life, with the diligent use of all outward means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption.

Q. 86. *What is faith in Jesus Christ?*

A. Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for salvation as he is offered to us in the gospel.

Q. 87. *What is repentance unto life?*

A. Repentance unto life is a saving grace, whereby a sinner out of the true sense of his sin and apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, doth with grief and hatred of his sin turn from it unto God, with full purpose of and endeavors after new obedience.

Q. 88. *What are the outward and ordinary means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption?*

A. The outward and ordinary means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption, are his ordinances, especially the word, sacraments, and prayer; all which are made effectual to the elect for salvation.

Q. 89. *How is the word made effectual to salvation?*

A. The spirit of God maketh the reading, but especially the preaching of the word an effectual means of convincing and converting sinners, and of building them up in holiness and comfort, through faith unto salvation.

Q. 90. *How is the word to be read and heard that it may become effectual to salvation?*

A. That the word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereunto with diligence, preparation, and prayer, receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practice it in our lives.

Q. 91. *How do the sacraments become effectual means of salvation?*

A. The sacraments become effectual means of salvation not from any virtue in them or in him that doth administer them, but only by the blessing of Christ, and the working of the Spirit in them that by faith receive them.

Q. 92. *What is a sacrament?*

A. A sacrament is a holy ordinance instituted by Christ, wherein by sensible signs, Christ and the benefits of the new covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to believers.

Q. 93. *What are the sacraments of the New Testament?*

A. The sacraments of the New Testament are baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Q. 94. *What is baptism?*

A. Baptism is a sacrament wherein the washing of water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, doth signify and seal our ingrafting into Christ and partaking of the benefits of the covenant of grace, and our engagements to be the Lord's.

Q. 95. *To whom is baptism to be administered?*

A. Baptism is not to be administered to any that are out of the visible church, till they profess their faith in Christ, and obedience to him, but the infants of such as are members of the visible church are to be baptized.

Q. 96. *What is the Lord's Supper?*

A. The Lord's Supper is a sacrament, wherein by giving and receiving bread and wine according to Christ's appointment, his death is shewed forth, and the worthy receivers are, not after a corporeal and carnal manner, but by faith, made partakers of his body and blood, with all his benefits, to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace.

Q. 97. *What is required in the worthy receiving the Lord's Supper?*

A. It is required of them that would worthily partake of the Lord's Supper, that they examine themselves of their knowledge to discern the Lord's body, of their faith to feed upon him, of their repentance, love, and a new obedience, lest coming unworthily, they eat and drink judgment to themselves.

Q. 98. *What is prayer?*

A. Prayer is an offering up of our desires to God for things agreeable to his will, in the name of Christ, with confession of our sins, and thankful acknowledgment of his mercies.

Q. 99. *What rule hath God given for our direction in prayer?*

A. The whole word of God is of use to direct us in prayer, but the special rule of direction is that form of prayer which Christ taught his disciples, commonly called, *The Lord's Prayer*.

Q. 100. *What doth the preface of the Lord's prayer teach us?*

A. The preface of the Lord's prayer which is, *Our Father which art in heaven*, teacheth us, to draw near to God with all holy reverence and confidence, as children to a father, able and ready to help us, and that we should pray with and for others.

Q. 101. *What do we pray for in the first petition?*

A. In the first petition, which is, *Hallowed be thy name*, we pray that God would enable us and others to glorify him in all that whereby he makes himself known, and that he would dispose all things to his own glory.

Q. 102. *What do we pray for in the second petition?*

A. In the second petition, which is, *Thy kingdom come*, we pray that Satan's kingdom may be destroyed, the kingdom of grace may be advanced, ourselves and others brought into it, and kept in it, and that the kingdom of glory may be hastened.

Q. 103. *What do we pray for in the third petition?*

A. In the third petition, which is, *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven*, we pray that God by his grace would make us able and willing to know, obey, and submit to his will in all things, as the angels do in heaven.

Q. 104. *What do we pray for in the fourth petition?*

A. In the fourth petition, which is, *Give us this day our daily bread*, we pray, that of God's free gift we may receive a competent portion of the good things of this life, and enjoy his blessing with them.

Q. 105. *What do we pray for in the fifth petition?*

A. In the fifth petition, which is, *And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors*, we pray that God, for Christ's sake, would freely pardon all our sins, which we are the rather encouraged to ask, because by his grace we are enabled from the heart to forgive others.

Q. 106. *What do we pray for in the sixth petition?*

A. In the sixth petition, which is, *And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil*, we pray that God would either keep us from being tempted to sin, or support and deliver us when we are tempted.

Q. 107. *What doth the conclusion of the Lord's prayer teach us?*

A. The conclusion of the Lord's prayer, which is, *For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever, AMEN*, teacheth us, to take our encouragement in prayer from God only, and in our prayers to praise him, ascribing kingdom, power, and glory to him, and in testimony of our desire and assurance to be heard, we say, AMEN.

Blessed are they that do his commandments that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates to the city. Rev. xxii. 14.

II.

THE BODY OF LIBERTIES

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN NEW ENGLAND.¹

ENACTED BY THE GENERAL COURT, A.D. 1641.

THE free fruition of such liberties, immunities, and privileges as humanity, civility, and Christianity call for as due to every man in his place and proportion, without impeachment and infringement, hath ever been and ever will be the tranquillity and stability of churches and commonwealths; and the denial or deprival thereof, the disturbance, if not the ruin, of both.

We hold it, therefore, our duty and safety, whilst we are about the further establishing of this government, to collect and express all such freedoms as, for present, we foresee may concern us and our posterity after us; and to ratify them with our solemn consent.

We do, therefore, this day, religiously and unanimously decree and confirm these following rights, liberties, and privileges concerning our churches and civil state, to be respectively, impartially, and inviolably enjoyed and observed throughout our jurisdiction forever.

1. No man's life shall be taken away, no man's honor or good name shall be stained, no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any ways punished, no man shall be deprived of his wife or children, no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor any way endamaged, under color of law or countenance of authority, unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the country, warranting the same, established by a General Court, and sufficiently published, or, in case of the defect of a law in any particular case, by the Word of God. And in capital cases,

¹ The notes are by Francis Bowen.

or in cases concerning dismembering or banishment, according to that Word to be judged by the General Court.¹

2. Every person within this jurisdiction, whether inhabitant or foreigner, shall enjoy the same justice and law that is general for the plantation, which we constitute and execute one toward another, without partiality or delay.

3. No man shall be urged to take any oath, or subscribe any articles, covenants, or remonstrance, of a public and civil nature, but such as the General Court hath considered, allowed, and required.

4. No man shall be punished for not appearing at, or before any civil assembly, court, council, magistrate, or officer, nor for the omission of any office or service, if he shall be necessarily hindered by any apparent act or providence of God, which he could neither foresee nor avoid. Provided that this law shall not prejudice any person of his just cost or damage in any civil action.

5. No man shall be compelled to any public work or service, unless the press be grounded upon some act of the General Court, and have reasonable allowance therefor.

6. No man shall be pressed in person to any office, work, wars, or other public service, that is necessarily and sufficiently exempted by any natural or personal impediment, as by want of years, greatness of age, defect of mind, failing of senses, or impotency of limbs.

7. No man shall be compelled to go out of the limits of this plantation upon any offensive wars which this Commonwealth, or any of our friends or confederates, shall voluntarily undertake; but only upon such vindictive and defensive wars in our own behalf, or the behalf of our friends and confederates, as shall be enterprised by the counsel and consent of a Court General, or by authority derived from the same.

8. No man's cattle or goods, of what kind soever, shall be pressed or taken for any public use or service, unless it be by warrant, grounded upon some act of the General Court, nor without such reasonable prices and hire, as the ordinary rates

¹ This first Liberty is evidently an expansion and a paraphrase of the famous 46th article of the Great Charter: "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized," etc.

of the country do afford. And if his cattle or goods shall perish, or suffer damage in service, the owner shall be sufficiently recompensed.¹

9. No monopolies shall be granted or allowed among us, but of such new inventions that are profitable to the country, and that for a short time.

10. All our lands and heritages shall be free from all fines and licenses upon alienations, and from all heriots, wardships, liveries, primer-seisins, year day and waste, escheats, and forfeitures, upon the deaths of parents or ancestors, be they natural, casual, or judicial.²

11. All persons which are of the age of twenty-one years, and of right understanding and memories, whether excommunicated or condemned, shall have full power and liberty to make their wills and testaments, and other lawful alienations of their lands and estates.

12. Every man, whether inhabitant or foreigner, free or not free, shall have liberty to come to any public court, council, or town-meeting, and, either by speech or writing, to move any lawful, seasonable, and material question, or to present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, bill, or information, whereof that meeting hath proper cognizance, so it be done in convenient time, due order, and respective [respectful] manner.³

¹ This is an expansion of the 36th article of the Great Charter.

² Fines on alienation, heriots, liveries, primer-seisins, wardships, and the like, were the incidents or emoluments of seignior, that remained after the military character of fiefs had been nearly effaced. They were not finally abolished in England till the time of Charles II., when an act of Parliament took them all away, and converted all the old feudal tenures of land (except grand serjeantry, which is merely honorary and nominal) into common socage. The Great Charter had regulated and mitigated these exactions; the Parliament of Charles II. abolished them altogether, giving the King, as a compensation for the revenue thus surrendered, the proceeds of an excise on beer and some other liquors. This Liberty, therefore, established by the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1641, anticipated by about twenty years a most important amelioration of the law of England.

³ The right of petition and remonstrance, which is considered of so much importance nowadays, can not be said to have been fully established in England before the Bill of Rights, in 1689. This clause in the Bill of Rights was suggested by the famous trial of the seven bishops, a year or two be-

13. No man shall be rated [taxed] here for any estate or revenue he hath in England, or in any foreign parts, till it be transported hither.

14. Any conveyance or alienation of land or other estate whatsoever, made by any woman that is married, any child under age, idiot, or distracted person, shall be good, if it be passed and ratified by the consent of a General Court.

15. All covenous or fraudulent alienations or conveyances of lands, tenements, or any hereditaments, shall be of no validity to defeat any man from due debts or legacies, or from any just title, claim, or possession, of that which is so fraudulently conveyed.

16. Every inhabitant that is an householder, shall have free fishing and fowling in any great ponds and bays, coves, and rivers, so far as the sea ebbs and flows, within the precincts of the town where they dwell, unless the freemen of the same town, or the General Court, have otherwise appropriated them; provided that this shall not be extended to give leave to any man to come upon others' property without their leave.

17. Every man of, or within this jurisdiction, shall have free liberty, notwithstanding any civil power, to remove both himself and his family at their pleasure out of the same, provided there be no legal impediment to the contrary.¹

Rights, Rules, and Liberties concerning Judicial Proceedings.

18. No man's person shall be restrained or imprisoned by any authority whatsoever, before the law hath sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient security, bail, or mainprise for his appearance, and good behavior in the mean time, unless it be in crimes capital, and contempts in open court, and in such cases where some express act of court doth allow it.²

19. If, in a General Court, any miscarriage shall be among the Assistants, when they are by themselves, that may defore. The right was completely established in Massachusetts by this Liberty nearly half a century before.

¹ See the 48th and 50th articles of the Great Charter.

² This Liberty is an anticipation of the Habeas Corpus Act, passed nearly forty years afterward.

serve an admonition or fine under twenty shillings, it shall be examined and sentenced among themselves; if among the Deputies, when they are by themselves, it shall be examined and sentenced among themselves; if it be when the whole Court is together, it shall be judged by the whole Court, and not severally, as before.¹

20. If any which are to sit as judges in any other court shall demean themselves offensively in the court, the rest of the judges present shall have power to censure him for it; if the cause be of a high nature, it shall be presented to and censured at the next superior court.

21. In all cases where the first summons are not served six days before the court, and the cause briefly specified in the warrant, where appearance is to be made by the party summoned, it shall be at his liberty whether he will appear or no; except all cases that are to be handled in courts suddenly called, upon extraordinary occasions. In all cases where there appears present and urgent cause, any Assistant or officer appointed shall have power to make out attachments for the first summons.

22. No man, in any suit or action against another, shall falsely pretend great debts or damages to vex his adversary; if it shall appear any doth so, the court shall have power to set a reasonable fine on his head.

23. No man shall be adjudged to pay for detaining any debt from any creditor above eight pounds in the hundred for one year, and not above that rate proportionable for all sums whatsoever; neither shall this be a color or countenance to allow any usury amongst us, contrary to the law of God.²

24. In all trespasses or damages done to any man or men, if it can be proved to be done by the mere default of him or

¹ The Board of Assistants, under the old Charter in Massachusetts, was an anomalous body, that performed the functions of an upper house in the legislature, of a council to the Governor, and of a court which heard and determined both civil and criminal causes.

² Eight per cent. was about the current rate of interest at this time allowed in England. Though our ancestors, following the Jewish law, forbade lending money on usury, it appears from this Liberty that they allowed interest to be charged on any money detained beyond the time when payment was due.

them to whom the trespass is done, it shall be judged no trespass, nor any damage given for it.

25. No summons, pleading, judgment, or any kind of proceeding in court or course of justice shall be abated, arrested, or reversed, upon any kind of circumstantial errors or mistakes, if the person and cause be rightly understood and intended by the court.¹

26. Every man that findeth himself unfit to plead his own cause in any court, shall have liberty to employ any man against whom the court doth not except, to help him, provided he give him no fee or reward for his pains. This shall not exempt the party himself from answering such questions in person as the court shall think meet to demand of him.²

27. If any plaintiff shall give into any court a declaration of his cause in writing, the defendant shall also have liberty and time to give in his answer in writing; and so in all further proceedings between party and party, so it doth not further hinder the dispatch of justice than the court shall be willing unto.

28. The plaintiff, in all actions brought in any court, shall have liberty to withdraw his action, or to be nonsuited before the jury hath given in their verdict; in which case, he shall always pay full cost and charges to the defendant, and may afterward renew his suit at another court, if he please.

29. In all actions at law, it shall be the liberty of the plaintiff and defendant, by mutual consent, to choose whether they will be tried by the bench or by a jury, unless it be where the law upon just reason hath otherwise determined. The like liberty shall be granted to all persons in criminal cases.

30. It shall be in the liberty both of plaintiff and defendant, and likewise every delinquent (to be judged by a jury), to challenge any of the jurors. And if his challenge be found just and reasonable by the bench, or the rest of the jury, as

¹ This Liberty, if it were in force at the present day, would remove one great cause of litigation and of the uncertainty of the law.

² This is an anticipation of a very important amendment of the English law, which, for more than a century longer, would not allow a person charged with a capital offense to employ counsel to aid him, except on points of law.

the challenger shall choose, it shall be allowed him, and *tales de circumstantibus* impaneled in their room.

31. In all cases where evidence is so obscure or defective that the jury can not clearly and safely give a positive verdict, whether it be a grand or petit jury, it shall have liberty to give a *non liquit*, or a special verdict, in which last, that is, in a special verdict, the judgment of the cause shall be left to the court; and all jurors shall have liberty, in matters of fact, if they can not find the main issue, yet to find and present in their verdict so much as they can. If the bench and jurors shall so suffer at any time about their verdict, that either of them can not proceed with peace of conscience, the case shall be referred to the General Court, who shall take the question from both and determine it.¹

32. Every man shall have liberty to replevy his cattle or goods impounded, distrained, seized, or extended, unless it be upon execution after judgment, and in payment of fines. Provided he puts in good security to prosecute his replevin, and to satisfy such demands as his adversary shall recover against him in law.

33. No man's person shall be arrested, or imprisoned upon execution or judgment, for any debt or fine, if the law can find competent means of satisfaction otherwise from his estate; and if not, his person may be arrested and imprisoned, where he shall be kept at his own charge, not the plaintiff's till satisfaction be made, unless the court that had cognizance of the cause, or some superior court shall otherwise provide.

34. If any man shall be judged and proved a common barrator, vexing others with unjust, frequent, and endless suits, it shall be in the power of courts both to deny him the benefit of the law, and to punish him for his barratry.²

35. No man's corn or hay that is in the field or upon the cart, nor his garden stuff, nor any thing subject to present decay, shall be taken in any distress, unless he that takes it doth presently bestow it where it may not be embezzled, nor suffer

¹ These last three Liberties suggest important, but cautious, ameliorations of the Common Law respecting juries, far in advance of their age.

² Barrator is the technical designation of one who keeps up needless and vexatious suits and quarrels.

spoil or decay, or give security to satisfy the worth thereof, if it comes to any harm.

36. It shall be in the liberty of every man, cast, condemned, or sentenced in any cause in any inferior court, to make their appeal to the Court of Assistants, provided they tender their appeal, and put in security to prosecute it, before the court be ended wherein they were condemned, and within six days next ensuing, put in good security, before some Assistant, to satisfy what his adversary shall recover against him; and if the cause be of a criminal nature, for his good behavior and appearance. And every man shall have liberty to complain to the General Court of any injustice done him in any Court of Assistants, or other.

37. In all cases where it appears to the court that the plaintiff hath willingly and wittingly done wrong to the defendant in commencing and prosecuting an action or complaint against him, they shall have power to impose upon him a proportionable fine to the use of the defendant, or accused person, for his false complaint or clamor.

38. Every man shall have liberty to record in the public rolls of any court, any testimony given upon oath in the same court, or before two Assistants, or any deed or evidence legally confirmed there, to remain *in perpetuum rei memoriam*, that is, for perpetual memorial or evidence upon occasion.

39. In all actions, both real and personal, between party and party, the court shall have power to respite execution for a convenient time, when in their prudence they see just cause so to do.

40. No conveyance, deed, or promise whatsoever shall be of validity, if it be gotten by illegal violence, imprisonment, or threatening, or any kind of forcible compulsion called duress.

41. Every man that is to answer for any criminal cause, whether he be in prison or under bail, his cause shall be heard and determined at the next court that hath proper cognizance thereof, and may be done without prejudice of justice.

42. No man shall be twice sentenced by civil justice for one and the same crime, offense, or trespass.

43. No man shall be beaten with above forty stripes, nor

shall any true gentleman, nor any man equal to a gentleman, be punished with whipping, unless his crime be very shameful, and his course of life vicious and profligate.

44. No man condemned to die shall be put to death within four days next after his condemnation, unless the court see special cause to the contrary, or in case of martial law, nor shall the body of any man so put to death be unburied twelve hours, unless it be in case of anatomy.

45. No man shall be forced by torture to confess any crime against himself nor any other, unless it be in some capital case, where he is first fully convicted by clear and sufficient evidence to be guilty; after which, if the cause be of that nature, that it is very apparent there be other conspirators or confederates with him, then he may be tortured, yet with no such tortures as be barbarous and inhuman.

46. For bodily punishments, we allow amongst us none that are inhuman, barbarous, or cruel.

47. No man shall be put to death without the testimony of two or three witnesses, or that which is equivalent thereunto.

48. Every inhabitant of the country shall have free liberty to search and view any rolls, records, or registers of any court or office except the Council, and to have a transcript or exemplification thereof written, examined, and signed by the hand of the officer of the office, paying the appointed fees therefor.

49. No free man shall be compelled to serve upon juries above two courts in a year, except grand-jurymen, who shall hold two courts together, at the least.

50. All jurors shall be chosen continually by the freemen of the town where they dwell.

51. All Associates selected at any time to assist the Assistants in inferior courts, shall be nominated by the towns belonging to that court, by orderly agreement among themselves.

52. Children, idiots, distracted persons, and all that are strangers, or new comers to our plantation, shall have such allowances and dispensations in any cause, whether criminal or other, as religion and reason require.

53. The age of discretion, for passing away of lands, or such kind of hereditaments, or for giving of votes, verdicts, or sentence in any civil courts or causes, shall be one-and-twenty years.

54. Whensoever any thing is to be put to vote, any sentence to be pronounced, or any other matter to be proposed, or read in any court or assembly, if the president or moderator thereof shall refuse to perform it, the major part of the members of that court or assembly shall have power to appoint any other meet man of them to do it; and, if there be just cause, to punish him that should, and would not.

55. In all suits or actions in any court, the plaintiff shall have liberty to make all the titles and claims to that he sues for he can. And the defendant shall have liberty to plead all the pleas he can in answer to them, and the court shall judge according to the entire evidence of all.

56. If any man shall behave himself offensively at any town-meeting, the rest of the freemen then present shall have power to sentence him for his offense; so be it the mulct or penalty exceed not twenty shillings.

57. Whensoever any person shall come to any very sudden, untimely, and unnatural death, some Assistant, or the constables of that town, shall forthwith summon a jury of twelve freemen to inquire of the cause and manner of their death, and shall present a true verdict thereof to some near Assistant, or the next court to be held for that town, upon their oath.

Liberties more peculiarly concerning the Freemen.

58. Civil authority hath power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances, and rules of Christ observed in every church, according to his word; so it be done in a civil, and not in an ecclesiastical way.

59. Civil authority hath power and liberty to deal with any church-member in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office, or interest.

60. No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any civil dignity, office, or authority he shall have in the Commonwealth.¹

¹ These Liberties (58–60) define and establish very clearly the notions of our ancestors respecting the relation between Church and State. Notwithstanding the vast influence of the clergy, and the Mosaic predilections of the magistrates and the people, they still wisely held that the ecclesiastical was subject to the civil power. These three Liberties alone are enough to prove that the early government of Massachusetts was not a theocracy.

61. No magistrate, juror, officer, or other man, shall be bound to inform, present, or reveal any private crime or offense, wherein there is no peril or danger to this plantation or any member thereof, when any necessary tie of conscience binds him to secrecy grounded upon the Word of God, unless it be in case of testimony lawfully required.

62. Any shire or town shall have liberty to choose their Deputies, whom and where they please, for the General Court; so be it they be freemen, and have taken their oath of fealty, and inhabiting in this jurisdiction.

63. No Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistant, Associate, or Grand-juryman at any court, nor any Deputy for the General Court, shall at any time bear his own charges at any court, but their necessary expenses shall be defrayed either by the town or shire on whose service they are, or by the country in general.

64. Every action between party and party, and proceedings against delinquents in criminal causes, shall be briefly and distinctly entered on the rolls of every court by the recorder thereof; that such actions be not afterward brought again, to the vexation of any man.

65. No custom or prescription shall ever prevail among us in any moral cause;—our meaning is, [no prescription shall] maintain any thing that can be proved to be morally sinful by the Word of God.

66. The freemen of every township shall have power to make such by-laws and constitutions as may concern the welfare of their town, provided they be not of a criminal, but only of a prudential nature, and that their penalties exceed not twenty shillings for one offense; and that they be not repugnant to the public laws and orders of the country. And if any inhabitant shall neglect or refuse to observe them, they shall have power to levy the appointed penalties by distress.

67. It is the constant liberty of the freemen of this plantation, to choose yearly, at the Court of Election, out of the freemen, all the general officers of this jurisdiction. If they please to discharge them at the day of election, by way of vote, they may do it without showing cause. But if at any other General Court, we hold it due justice, that the reasons thereof be

alleged and proved. By general officers, we mean our Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, Treasurer, General of our wars, and our Admiral at sea, and such as are, or hereafter may be, of the like general nature.¹

68. It is the liberty of the freemen to choose such Deputies for the General Court out of themselves, either in their own towns or elsewhere, as they judge fittest. And because we can not foresee what variety and weight of occasions may fall into future consideration, and what counsels we may stand in need of, we decree, that the Deputies (to attend the General Court in the behalf of the country) shall not at any time be stated or inacted [elected] but from Court to Court, or at the most but for one year, that the country may have an annual liberty to do in that case what is most behoofful for the best welfare thereof.

69. No General Court shall be dissolved or adjourned without the consent of the major part thereof.

70. All freemen called to give any advice, vote, verdict, or sentence in any court, council, or civil assembly, shall have full freedom to do it according to their true judgments and consciences, so it be done orderly and inoffensively for the manner.

71. The Governor shall have a casting vote whensoever an equal vote shall fall out in the Court of Assistants, or General Assembly; so shall the president or moderator have in all civil courts or assemblies.

72. The Governor and Deputy-Governor jointly consenting, or any three Assistants concurring in consent, shall have

¹ Just before the Massachusetts general election, in 1634, there being some apprehension that the people would not re-elect the former magistrates, the Rev. "Mr. Cotton preached, and delivered this doctrine, that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, no more than the magistrates might turn a private man out of his freehold without like public trial." But this doctrine was not much relished, and the people showed their dissent in a very practical manner. To adopt President Quincy's language, "They turned out Winthrop at the very same election, and put in Dudley. The year after, they turned out Dudley and put in Haynes. The year after, they turned out Haynes, and put in Vane." Having thus sufficiently vindicated their right, in 1637 they chose Winthrop again. Probably the recollection of Cotton's unlucky sermon suggested this article in the Body of Liberties.

power, out of court, to reprieve a condemned malefactor till the next quarter or General Court. The General Court only shall have power to pardon a condemned malefactor.

73. The General Court hath liberty and authority to send out any member of this Commonwealth, of what quality, condition, or office whatsoever, into foreign parts, about any public message or negotiation: Provided the party sent be acquainted with the affair he goeth about, and be willing to undertake the service.

74. The freemen of every town or township shall have full power to choose yearly, or for less time, out of themselves, a convenient number of fit men to order the planting or prudential occasions of that town, according to instructions given them in writing: Provided nothing be done by them contrary to the public laws and orders of the country; provided, also, the number of such select persons be not above nine.

75. It is and shall be the liberty of any member or members of any court, council, or civil assembly, in cases of making or executing any order or law that properly concern religion, or any cause capital, or wars, or subscription to any public articles or remonstrance, in case they can not, in judgment and conscience, consent to that way the major vote or suffrage goes, to make their contra remonstrance or protestation in speech or writing, and, upon request, to have their dissent recorded in the rolls of that court; so it be done Christianly and respectfully [respectfully] for the manner, and their dissent only be entered, without the reasons thereof, for the avoiding of tediousness.

76. Whensoever any jury of trials or jurors are not clear in their judgments or consciences concerning any cause wherein they are to give their verdict, they shall have liberty in open court to advise with any man they think fit to resolve or direct them, before they give in their verdict.

77. In all cases wherein any freeman is to give his vote, be it in point of election, making constitutions and orders, or passing sentence in any case of judicature, or the like, if he can not see reason to give it positively one way or another, he shall have liberty to be silent, and not pressed to a determined vote.

78. The general or public treasure, or any part thereof, shall never be expended but by the appointment of a General Court, nor any shire treasure but by the appointment of the freemen thereof, nor any town treasure but by the freemen of that township.

Liberties of Women.

79. If any man at his death shall not leave his wife a competent portion of his estate, upon just complaint made to the General Court, she shall be relieved.

80. Every married woman shall be free from bodily correction or stripes by her husband, unless it be in his own defense upon her assault. If there be any just cause of correction, complaint shall be made to authority assembled in some court, from which only she shall receive it.

Liberties of Children.

81. When parents die intestate, the elder son shall have a double portion of his whole estate, real and personal, unless the General Court, upon just cause alleged, shall judge otherwise.¹

82. When parents die intestate, having no heirs male of their bodies, their daughters shall inherit as co-partners, unless the General Court, upon just reason, shall judge otherwise.

83. If any parents shall wilfully and unreasonably deny any child timely or convenient marriage, or shall exercise any unnatural severity toward them, such children shall have free liberty to complain to authority for redress.

84. No orphan, during their minority, which was not committed to tuition or service by the parents in their life-time, shall afterward be absolutely disposed of by any kindred, friend, executor, township, or church, nor by themselves,

¹ Our ancestors here follow the law of Moses, rejecting the right of primogeniture, as it was and is established in England. This equal, or nearly equal, division of the estates of persons deceased, was the most effectual measure they could have adopted for fostering a republican spirit among the people, and preventing an aristocracy from ever gaining foothold on American ground.

without the consent of some court, wherein two Assistants at least shall be present.

Liberties of Servants.

85. If any servants shall flee from the tyranny and cruelty of their masters to the house of any freeman of the same town, they shall be there protected and sustained till due order be taken for their relief; provided due notice thereof be given to their masters, from whom they fled, and the next Assistant or constable where the party flying is harbored.

86. No servant shall be put off for above a year to any other, neither in the life-time of their master, nor after their death by their executors or administrators, unless it be by consent of authority assembled in some court, or two Assistants.

87. If any man smite out the eye or tooth of his manservant or maid-servant, or otherwise maim or much disfigure him, unless it be by mere casualty, he shall let them go free from his service, and he shall have such further recompense as the court shall allow him.

88. Servants that have served diligently and faithfully to the benefit of their masters seven years, shall not be sent away empty. And, if any have been unfaithful, negligent, or unprofitable in their service, notwithstanding the good usage of their masters, they shall not be dismissed till they have made satisfaction according to the judgment of authority.

Liberties of Foreigners and Strangers.

89. If any people of other nations, professing the true Christian religion, shall flee to us from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famine, wars, or the like necessary and compulsory cause, they shall be entertained and succored among us, according to that power and prudence God shall give us.

90. If any ships or other vessels, be it friend or enemy, shall suffer shipwreck upon our coast, there shall be no violence or wrong offered to their persons or goods. But their persons shall be harbored and relieved, and their goods preserved in

safety, till authority may be certified thereof, and shall take further order therein.

91. There shall never be any bond slavery, villeinage, or captivity among us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require. This exempts none from servitude who shall be judged thereto by authority.

Of the Brute Creature.

92. No man shall exercise any tyranny or cruelty toward any brute creatures which are usually kept for man's use.

93. If any man shall have occasion to lend or drive cattle from place to place that is far off, so that they be weary, or hungry, or fall sick or lame, it shall be lawful to rest or refresh them, for a competent time, in any open place that is not corn, meadow, or inclosed for some peculiar use.

94. *Capital Laws.*¹

1.

If any man, after legal conviction, shall have or worship any other god but the Lord God, he shall be put to death.²

2.

If any man or woman be a witch (that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit), they shall be put to death.³

3.

If any person shall blaspheme the name of God, the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, with direct, express, presumptuous, or high-handed blasphemy, or shall curse God in the like manner, he shall be put to death.⁴

¹ In these laws defining capital offenses, the peculiar religious tenets of our ancestors appear. They are nearly all borrowed directly from the Mosaic law, and are accompanied in the original with the references to Scripture texts, which we have subjoined in the notes.

² Deut. xiii. 6, 10; xvii. 2, 6. Ex. xxii. 20.

³ Ex. xxii. 18. Lev. xx. 27. Deut. xviii. 10. ⁴ Lev. xxiv. 15, 16.

4.

If any person commit any willful murder, which is manslaughter committed upon premeditated malice, hatred, or cruelty, not in a man's necessary and just defense, nor by mere casualty against his will, he shall be put to death.¹

5.

If any person slayeth another suddenly in his anger, or cruelty, or passion, he shall be put to death.²

6.

If any person shall slay another through guile, either by poisoning or other such devilish practice, he shall be put to death.³

7.

If any man or woman shall lie with any beast or brute creature by carnal copulation, they shall surely be put to death. And the beast shall be slain and buried, and not eaten.⁴

8.

If any man lieth with mankind as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed abomination; they both shall surely be put to death.⁵

9.

If any person committeth adultery with a married or espoused wife, the adulterer and adulteress shall surely be put to death.⁶

10.

If any man stealeth a man or mankind, he shall surely be put to death.⁷

11.

If any man rise up by false witness, wittingly and of purpose to take away any man's life, he shall be put to death.⁸

¹ Ex. xxi. 12. Numb. xxxv. 13, 14, 30, 31.

² Numb. xxv. 20, 21. Lev. xxiv. 17. ³ Ex. xxi. 14. ⁴ Lev. xx. 15, 16.

⁵ Lev. xx. 13. ⁶ Lev. xx. 19; xviii. 20. Deut. xxii. 23, 24.

⁷ Ex. xxi. 16.

⁸ Deut. xix. 16, 18, 19.

12.

If any man shall conspire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or public rebellion against our Commonwealth, or shall endeavor to surprise any town or towns, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of polity or government fundamentally, he shall be put to death.

95. *A Declaration of the Liberties the Lord Jesus hath given to the Churches.*

1.

All the people of God within this jurisdiction who are not in a church way, and be orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in life, shall have full liberty to gather themselves into a church estate: Provided they do it in a Christian way, with due observation of the rules of Christ revealed in his word.

2.

Every church hath full liberty to exercise all the ordinances of God, according to the rules of Scripture.

3.

Every church hath free liberty of election and ordination of all their officers from time to time, provided they be able, pious, and orthodox.

4.

Every church hath free liberty of admission, recommendation, dismissal, and expulsion, or deposal of their officers and members, upon due cause, with free exercise of the discipline and censures of Christ, according to the rules of his word.

5.

No injunctions are to be put upon any church, church officers, or member, in point of doctrine, worship, or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institutions of the Lord.

6.

Every church of Christ hath freedom to celebrate days of fasting and prayer, and of thanksgiving, according to the word of God.

7.

The elders of churches have free liberty to meet monthly, quarterly, or otherwise, in convenient numbers and places, for conferences and consultations about Christian and church questions and occasions.

8.

All churches have liberty to deal with any of their members in a church way that are in the hand of justice ; so it be not to retard or hinder the course thereof.

9.

Every church hath liberty to deal with any magistrate, deputy of court, or other officer whatsoever, that is a member, in a church way, in case of apparent and just offense given in their places, so it be done with due observance and respect.

10.

We allow private meetings for edification in religion among Christians of all sorts of people ; so it be without just offense for number, time, place, and other circumstances.

11.

For the preventing and removing of error and offense that may grow and spread in any of the churches in this jurisdiction, and for the preserving of truth and peace in the several churches within themselves, and for the maintenance and exercise of brotherly communion among all the churches in the country, it is allowed and ratified, by the authority of this General Court, as a lawful liberty of the churches of Christ :— That once in every month of the year (when the season will bear it), it shall be lawful for the ministers and elders of the churches near adjoining together, with any other of the brethren, with the consent of the churches, to assemble by course in each several church, one after another, to the intent, after the preaching of the word by such a minister as shall be requested thereto by the elders of the church where the assembly is held, that the rest of the day may be spent in public Christian conference, about the discussing and resolving of any such doubts and cases of conscience, concerning matter of doctrine or worship, or government of the

church, as shall be propounded by any of the brethren of that church, with leave also to any other brother to propound his objections or answers for further satisfaction, according to the word of God. Provided that the whole action be guided and moderated by the elders of the church where the assembly is held, or by such officers as they shall appoint. And that nothing be concluded and imposed by way of authority from one or more churches upon another, but only by way of brotherly conference and consultation; that the truth may be searched out, to the satisfying of every man's conscience in the sight of God, according to his word. And because such an assembly and the work thereof can not be duly attended to, if other lectures be held in the same week, it is therefore agreed, with the consent of the churches, that in that week when such an assembly is held, all the lectures in all the neighboring churches for that week shall be forborne; that so the public service of Christ in this more solemn assembly may be transacted with greater diligence and attention.

96. Howsoever these above-specified rights, freedoms, immunities, authorities, and privileges, both civil and ecclesiastical, are expressed only under the name and title of Liberties, and not in the exact form of Laws or Statutes, yet we do with one consent fully authorize, and earnestly entreat, all that are and shall be in authority to consider them as laws, and not to fail to inflict condign and proportionable punishments upon every man impartially, that shall infringe or violate any of them.

97. We likewise give full power and liberty to any person that shall at any time be denied or deprived of any of them, to commence and prosecute their suit, complaint, or action against any man that shall so do, in any court that hath proper cognizance or judicature thereof.

98. Lastly, because our duty and desire is to do nothing suddenly which fundamentally concern us, we decree that these rights and liberties shall be audibly read and deliberately weighed at every General Court that shall be held, within three years next ensuing; and such of them as shall

not be altered or repealed, they shall stand so ratified, that no man shall infringe them without due punishment.

And if any General Court, within these three next years, shall fail or forget to read and consider them as abovesaid, the Governor and Deputy-Governor for the time being, and every Assistant present at such courts, shall forfeit twenty shillings a man, and every Deputy ten shillings a man, for each neglect, which shall be paid out of their proper estate, and not by the country or the towns which choose them. And whensoever there shall arise any question in any court, among the Assistants and Associates thereof, about the explanation of these rights and liberties, the General Court only shall have power to interpret them.

III.
ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION
OF THE
UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND,
ESTABLISHED MAY 19TH, A.D. 1643, DISSOLVED, A.D. 1686.

THE Articles of Confederation between the plantations under the government of the Massachusetts, the plantations under the government of New Plymouth, the plantations under the government of Connecticut, and the government of New Haven, with the plantations in combination therewith :

WHEREAS we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace : and whereas by our settling, by the wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the sea-coasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we can not, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction : and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity ; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England (which they have heard of), and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice, and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect ; we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consociation among ourselves for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that, as in nation and religion, so in other re-

spects, we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles :

1. Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded between the parties above named, and they jointly and severally do, by these presents, agree and conclude, that they all be, and henceforth be called by the name of, the United Colonies of New England.

2. These united Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed, that the plantations which at present are, or hereafter shall be, settled within the limits of the Massachusetts, shall be forever under the government of the Massachusetts, and shall have peculiar jurisdiction among themselves in all cases as an entire body ; and that Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven shall each of them in all respects have like peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits, and in reference to the plantations which are already settled, or shall hereafter be erected, and shall settle within any of their limits respectively : provided that no other jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other, either plantation or jurisdiction in present being, and not already in combination or under the jurisdiction of any of these confederates, be received by any of them ; nor shall any two of these confederates join in one jurisdiction, without consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted as in the 6th ensuing article is expressed.

4. It is also by these confederates agreed, that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, upon what part or member of this confederation soever they shall fall, shall, both in men and provisions and all other disbursements, be borne by all the parts of this confederation in different proportions, according to their different abilities, in manner following, viz. : That the commissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time as there shall be occasion, bring account

and number of all the males in each plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several jurisdictions, of what quality or condition soever they be, from sixteen years old to sixty, being inhabitants there, and that according to the different numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true and just account, the service of men and all charges of the war be borne by the poll; each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their own just course or custom of rating themselves and people according to their different estates, with due respect to their qualities and exemptions among themselves, though the confederation take no notice of any such privilege; and that, according to the different charge of each jurisdiction and plantation, the whole advantage of the war (if it please God so to bless their endeavors), whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably divided among the said confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if any of these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combination with them, be invaded by any enemy whatsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that jurisdiction so invaded, the rest of the confederates, without any further notice or expostulation, shall forthwith send aid to the confederate in danger, but in different proportions; namely, the Massachusetts, one hundred men sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and each of the rest, forty-five men so armed and provided; or any less number, if less be required, according to this proportion. But if such a confederate in danger may be supplied by their next confederate, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may crave help thence, and seek no further for the present; the charge to be borne as in this article is expressed, and at their return to be victualed, and supplied with powder and shot, if there be need, for their journey, by that jurisdiction which employed or sent for them; but none of the jurisdictions to exceed these numbers till, by a meeting of the commissioners for this confederation, a greater aid appear necessary; and this proportion to continue till, upon knowledge of the numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to the next meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in any such case of sending men for present aid,

whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed that, at the meeting of the commissioners for this confederation, the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered; and if it appear that the fault lay in the party invaded, that then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to the invaders whom they have injured, and bear all the charge of the war themselves, without requiring any allowance from the rest of the confederates toward the same. And further, that if any jurisdiction see any danger of an invasion approaching, and there be time for a meeting, that in such case three magistrates of that jurisdiction may summon a meeting at such convenient place as themselves shall think meet, to consider and provide against the threatened danger; provided, when they are met, they may remove to what place they please: only while any of these four confederates have but three magistrates in their jurisdiction, a request or summons from any two of them shall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till there may be an increase of magistrates there.

6. It is also agreed, that for the managing and concluding of all affairs peculiar to and concerning the whole confederation, commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of these four jurisdictions, viz., two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New Haven, all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their several General Courts respectively, to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils, or whatever is gotten by conquest; receiving of more confederates or plantations into the combination with any of these confederates, and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederation for amity, offense, and defense, not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which by the third article is preserved entirely to themselves. But if those eight commissioners, when they meet, shall not agree, yet it is concluded that any six of the eight, agreeing, shall have power to settle and determine the business in question; but if six do not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, so far as they

have been debated, be sent and referred to the four General Courts, viz., the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven: and if at all the said General Courts the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the confederation and all their members. It is further agreed that these eight commissioners shall meet once every year (besides extraordinary meetings according to the 5th article), to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in September, and that the next meeting after the date of these presents (which shall be accounted the second meeting), shall be at Boston in the Massachusetts, the third at Hartford, the fourth at New Haven, the fifth at Plymouth, the sixth and seventh at Boston, and so in course successively, if in the mean time some middle place be not found out and agreed upon, which may be commodious for all the jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, that at each meeting of these eight commissioners, whether ordinary or extraordinary, they all, or any six of them agreeing as before, may choose their president out of themselves, whose office and work shall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in their present meeting: but he shall be invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business, or any way cast the scales otherwise than in the preceding articles is agreed.

8. It is also agreed, that the commissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations are interested for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing, as much as may be, all occasions of war or differences with others, as about free and speedy passage of justice in each jurisdiction to all the confederates equally, as to their own, receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificates, how all the jurisdictions may carry it toward the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the

confederates through miscarriages. It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master into any of these confederate jurisdictions, that in such case, upon certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered either to his master or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof: and that upon the escape of any prisoner or fugitive, for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrate, or some of them of the jurisdiction where, for the present, the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hand of the officer or other person who pursueth him; and if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, especially to the smaller plantations in these United Colonies, it is agreed, that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, nor New Haven, nor any of the members of any of them, shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themselves or this confederation, or any part thereof, in any war whatsoever (sudden exigencies with the necessary consequences thereof excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit), without the consent and agreement of the aforementioned eight commissioners, or at least six of them, as in the 6th article is provided; and that no charge be required of any of the confederates, in case of a defensive war, till the said commissioners have met and approved the justice of the war, and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which sum is then to be paid by the several confederates in proportion according to the 4th article.

10. That on extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or two, as in the 5th article, if any of the commissioners come not, due warning being given or sent, it is agreed that four of the com-

missioners shall have power to direct a war which can not be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as six might do if all met; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war, or allow the demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed, that if any of the confederates shall hereafter break any of these present articles, or be otherway injurious to any one of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreement or injury shall be duly considered and ordered by the commissioners for the other jurisdictions, that both peace and this present confederation may be entirely preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetual confederation, and the several articles and agreements thereof being read and seriously considered both by the General Court for the Massachusetts, and the commissioners for the other three, were subscribed presently by the commissioners, all save those of Plymouth, who, for want of sufficient commission from their General Court, deferred their subscription till the next meeting, and then they subscribed also, and were to be allowed by the General Courts of the several jurisdictions, which accordingly was done, and certified at the next meeting held at Boston, September 7, 1643.

BOSTON, May 19, 1643.

IV.

MASSACHUSETTS SLAVE LEGISLATION.

SEVERAL persons found guilty of sundry crimes, were sentenced to be severely whipped, and delivered up as slaves to whom the court shall appoint.¹

The General Court conceiving themselves bound by the first opportunity to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin of man-stealing, as also to prescribe such timely redress for what is past, and such a law for the future as may sufficiently deter all others belonging to us to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, justly abhorred of all good and just men, do order that the negro interpreter, with others unlawfully taken, be by the first opportunity (at the charge of the country for present) sent to his native country of "Ginny," and a letter with him of the indignation of the Court thereabouts, and justice hereof, desiring our honored Governor would please to put this order in execution.²

No innholder to suffer any apprentice, servant, or negro to sit drinking in his house, or to have any manner of drink there without special order from his master.³

"Whereas great charge and inconveniences have arisen to divers towns and places, by the releasing and setting at liberty mulatto and negro slaves: enacted, etc., no mulatto or negro slave hereafter to be manumitted, discharged, or set free, until security be given to 'indemnify' the town from charge, in case he become unable to support himself, by sickness, lameness, etc., and no mulatto or negro to be counted free for whom security is not given."⁴

¹ Rec. i., p. 246. 1638.

² Rec. ii., p. 168. 1646. See also Rec. iii., pp. 49, 58, 84.

³ Stat., ed. 1714, p. 101. Passed, May, 1698.

⁴ Stat., ed. 1714, p. 178. Passed, May, 1703.

An act for the better preventing of a spurious or mixed issue, etc.: "Any negro or mulatto man committing fornication with a white woman, both offenders to be severely whipped, and the man to be sold out of the province; and any white man committing fornication with a negro, etc., woman, to be whipped, and the woman sold out of the province. Any negro presuming to strike a white, to be severely whipped. None of her Majesty's English or Scottish subjects, nor of any other Christian nation within this province, to marry any negro or mulatto. No master unreasonably to deny marriage to his negro with one of his own nation. All negroes imported to be entered, and duty paid, of £4 per head."¹

Free able-bodied negroes to do service in repairing highways, cleansing streets, etc., equivalent to service of whites in training, watching, and warding. Free able-bodied negroes to attend in case of alarms. No free negro to harbor any negro or mulatto servant.²

Whereas divers conspiracies, outrages, barbarities, murders, burglaries, thefts, and other notorious crimes and enormities, at sundry times, and especially of late, have been perpetrated and committed by Indians and other slaves within several of her Majesty's Plantations in America—being of a malicious, surly, and revengeful spirit, rude and insolent in their behavior, and very ungovernable; the over great number and increase whereof within this Province, is likely to prove of pernicious and fatal consequence to her Majesty's subjects and interest here, unless speedily remedied, and is a discouragement to the importation of white Christian servants. This Province being differently circumstanced from the plantations in the Islands, and having great numbers of the Indian natives of the country within and about them, and at this time under the sorrowful effects of their rebellion and hostilities; enacted, etc.: all Indians brought in by sea or land to be forfeited, unless security be given to carry them out again within one month.³

Whereas the payment of the duty of £4 per head, laid upon

¹ Stat., ed. 1714, p. 190. Passed, May, 1705.

² Stat., ed. 1714, p. 194. Passed, 1707.

³ Stat., ed. 1742, p. 188. Passed, 1712.

negroes imported, is often evaded by bringing them in in a clandestine manner, masters of vessels to give in an account on oath, and entry of negroes brought in by land to be made to town clerk.¹

The foregoing acts to be found in the edit. of 1759.

ART. 1. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties.² * * * (Under this, the courts decided that the slaves were free.)

Whereas by the African trade for slaves, the lives and liberties of many innocent persons have been, from time to time, sacrificed to the lust of gain; and whereas some persons residing within this commonwealth may be so regardless of the rights of human kind as to be concerned in that unrighteous commerce; enacted, etc.: no person to import, transport, buy, or sell any Africans as slaves, under penalty of £50 for each person received on board, with intent to be transported, and £200 for every vessel fitted out and employed in such transportation; the insurance on such vessels to be void. When inhabitants are kidnapped or decoyed away, any friend of such injured resident may bring action of damages.³

No African or negro, other than a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, or a citizen of some one of the United States, shall tarry within this commonwealth for a longer time than two months; and in case they do not depart after order, any justice may commit them to the house of correction.⁴

No white person shall intermarry with a negro, Indian, or mulatto.⁵

CONNECTICUT SLAVE LEGISLATION.

INDIAN and Negro Servants traveling without a ticket or pass in writing, under the hand of some Assistant or Justice of the Peace, or under the hand of the master or owner of

¹ Stat., ed. 1726, p. 414.

² Constitution of 1780. Bill of Rights.

³ Stat., ed. 1801, pp. 407-8. Passed, March, 1788.

⁴ Stat., ed. 1801, p. 413. Passed, 1788.

⁵ Stat., ed. 1836, p. 475.

such negro, etc., shall be deemed runaways, and may be seized and secured by any person. Free negroes traveling without a pass are also liable to be stopped, and to pay all charges arising thereby.¹

Whereas Negro and Mulatto Servants and Slaves are very apt to be turbulent, and often quarreling with White People, to the great disturbance of the Peace, ordered, etc., that if any Negro or Mulatto Servant or Slave disturb the Peace, or shall offer to strike any white person, and be thereof convicted, such negro, etc., shall be punished by whipping at the discretion of the Court, Assistant, or Justice that shall have cognizance thereof, not exceeding thirty stripes for one offense.²

Slaves set free to be maintained by their late owners in case they come to want.³

“Whereas divers Conspiracies, Outrages, Barbarities, Murders, Burglaries, Thefts, and other notorious crimes at sundry times, and especially of late have been perpetrated by Indians and other Slaves within several of his Majesty’s plantations in America, being of a malicious and revengeful spirit, rude and insolent in their behavior, and very ungovernable; the overgreat number of which, considering the different circumstances of this Colony from the plantations in the Islands, and our having considerable numbers of the Indian Natives of the Country within and about us, may be of pernicious consequence to his Majesty’s subjects and interests here unless speedily remedied,” ordered that all Indians brought into this Colony to be disposed of or sold here, shall be forfeited to the Treasury of the Colony, unless the person bringing them shall give security of fifty pounds per head to transport them again within one month, not to be returned back to this Colony.⁴

An Act to prevent the disorder of Negroes and Indian Servants and Slaves in the night season.

No Negro or Indian Servant or Slave to be found abroad after 9 o’clock at night, except by special order from their owners, on pain of said servants being publicly whipped, or

¹ Stat. of Conn. Ed. 1750, p. 229. Ed. 1718, p. 87. Ed. 1702, p. 85, passed Oct. 1690.

² Stat., ed. 1718, p. 138. May, 1708.

³ Stat., ed. 1718, p. 164. May, 1711. ⁴ Stat., ed. 1718, p. 209. Oct. 1715.

their owners fined. And no Negro nor Indians to be entertained in any house after 9 o'clock, on penalty of 20 shillings.¹

All the aforesaid Acts are to be found in the Statutes, Edition of 1750, though the preambles are abbreviated, p. 229-231.

Negroes defaming any person, to be whipped.²

Whereas the increase of Slaves in this Colony is injurious to the poor, and inconvenient, Be it enacted, etc., That no Indian, Negro, or Mulatto Slave shall at any time hereafter be brought or imported into this Colony by sea or land, from any place or places whatsoever, to be disposed of, left or sold, within this Colony; penalty for bringing in such slaves £100.³

Owners of emancipated Slaves freed from liability to support them on certificate being procured from Selectmen, that it is likely to be consistent with the real advantage of the Slave to free him, and that it is probable he will be able to support himself, and is of good and peaceable life and conversation.⁴

"Whereas sound policy requires that the abolition of Slavery should be effected as soon as may be, consistent with the rights of individuals and the public safety, all born after March 1, 1784, to be free at the age of 25."⁵

No Negro or Mulatto, born after August 1, 1797, to be held to servitude longer than till he arrives at the age of 21.⁶

Nearly all the laws relating to Slaves may be found in the Edition of the Statutes of Connecticut, 1808, p. 623 to 628, inclusive.

"Slavery was never directly established by statute; but has been indirectly sanctioned by various statutes, and frequently recognized by courts, so that it may be said to have been established by law. Few Negro Slaves, however, were imported into the State, and in 1771 [*should be 1774*], the importation of all Slaves was prohibited. After the termination of the war of the Revolution, in 1784, to effect the

¹ Stat. 1718, p. 291. May, 1723.

² Stat., ed., 1750, p. 40.

³ Oct. 1774. Stat. 1769, p. 403.

⁴ Oct. 1777.

⁵ 1784.

⁶ May, 1797.

gradual abolition of Slavery, enacted, that no negro or mulatto child, born after the 1st day of March, 1784, should be held in servitude longer than till they arrived at the age of twenty-five ; and also provided for the emancipation of Slaves by their masters, without being liable for their support. The consequence has been, that there are now very few Slaves, and in a short time Slavery will no longer be a reproach to the State. The number of Negroes is, however, rather increasing, than diminishing like the Indians.”¹

Slavery was finally abolished in 1848, at which time, however, the number of Slaves must have been extremely small, perhaps not more than twenty, if so many.

In 1756, as appears by the Colony census of that year, there were 3,019 Negroes in Connecticut ; in 1774, 5,185, of whom 2,878 were males, and 2,207 females.

¹ Note of Mr. Day in Stat, ed. of 1821.

V.

CENSUS IN 1791.¹

	Free white males over 16.	Free white males under 16.	Free white females.	Other free persons.	Slaves.	Total.
Maine,	24,384	24,748	46,870	538		96,540
New Hampshire,	36,086	34,851	70,160	630	158	141,855
Massachusetts,	95,453	87,289	190,582	5,463		378,787
Rhode Island,	16,019	15,799	32,652	3,704	948	68,825
Connecticut,	60,523	54,403	117,448	2,808	2,764	237,940
Vermont,	22,435	22,328	40,505	252	16	85,539
New York,	83,700	78,122	152,329	4,654	21,324	340,120
New Jersey,	45,251	41,416	82,287	2,762	11,453	184,139
Pennsylvania,	110,788	106,948	206,363	6,537	3,737	434,373
Delaware,	11,783	12,143	22,384	3,899	8,887	59,094
Maryland,	55,915	51,339	101,395	8,043	103,036	319,728
Virginia,	110,936	116,135	215,046	12,868	292,637	747,610
North Carolina,	69,988	77,506	140,710	4,975	100,572	393,751
South Carolina,					80,000	240,000
Georgia,	13,103	14,044	25,739	398	29,264	82,548
Kentucky,	15,154	17,057	28,922	114	12,430	73,677
South-west Territory,	6,271	10,277	15,365	361	3,417	35,691
North-west Territory,						5,000
Totals,	781,769	764,405	1,488,748	57,709	670,633	3,925,247

¹ James Dana's, D.D., Discourse upon the African Slave-Trade. New Haven, 1791. Harvard College.

V I.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE delegates represented the several States, as follows:

New Hampshire.—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts.—John Hancock, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island.—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York.—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

Pennsylvania.—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

Delaware.—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean.

Maryland.—Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone, William Paca, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

Virginia.—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina.—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina.—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Haywood, jr., Thomas Lynch, jr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

VII. CHRONOLOGY, ETC.

MANNER OF DATING.

O. S.—OLD STYLE TILL 1752.
N. S.—NEW STYLE, AFTER 1752.

By the old style the year began on Lady-day, 25th of March, which was the first month in the year. Sometimes men dated the beginning of the year the 1st of March, which really began on the 25th. The present method of counting the year requires that eleven days should be added to the dates before the year 1752.

DISCOVERIES AND FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

- A.D.
986. North America seen by Biorn.
1497. West Indies discovered by Christopher Columbus. North America discovered by him, 1497.
John Cabot discovers New England.
1535. Cartier, a Frenchman, discovers and sails up the St. Lawrence.
1536. One hundred and twenty persons make a voyage to Cape Breton and Newfoundland, but return, discouraged, to England.
1576. Sir Martin Frobisher makes a voyage in search of a North-west passage. Another in 1577; a third in 1578.
1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert sails to Newfoundland.
1584. Sir Walter Raleigh sends an expedition which discovers Virginia. The next year Grenville lands a Colony at Roanoke.
1593 or 4. Weymouth visits the Coast of Labrador.
1600. Canada settled by the French.
1602. Gosnold discovers Cape Cod.
1603. Martin Pring on the Coast of N. E. at New Hampshire.
Champlain visited Canada.
1604. De Monts (a Frenchman), lands at Passamaquoddy.
1605. Captain George Weymouth makes a voyage of discovery.
1607. Virginia settled by English; Captain Newport sails into Chesapeake Bay. Popham and others attempt a settlement at the mouth of the Penobscot (Sagadahock), Maine.
1608. Champlain settles Quebec.
1609. Hudson discovers the Hudson River.

1614. The Dutch settle on the Hudson River at Manhadoes.
 Captain John Smith explores the coast, and names it "New England."
1619. Sir F. Gorges sends Captain Dermer on a fishing voyage to New England.
1620. The Puritans, led by Brewster, Carver, and Bradford, land at Plymouth, December 11th, old style, December 22d, new style.
1623. New Hampshire begun on the Piscataqua.
1624. The Dutch in New Jersey.
1627. Swedes and Finns settle on the Delaware River.
1628. John Endicott and Company join Conant's Colony at Salem.
1629. Charles I. grants a Charter to Massachusetts Bay Colony.
1630. Patent granted to the Plymouth settlers, by the Plymouth Council in England.
1634. Maryland settled by Leonard Calvert.
1635. Roger Williams flies from Massachusetts to Rhode Island, and plants corn at Seekonk; 1636, at Providence.
 The Dorchester people emigrate to the banks of the Connecticut River, and settle at Windsor.
1650. Some settlers in North Carolina.
1669. The Carolinas settled.
1682. William Penn begins Pennsylvania.
1733. Georgia settled by Oglethorpe. (See McGregor's Progress of America, vol. i.)

CHRONOLOGY.

1620. James I., King of England.
 The "Council of Plymouth," "Plymouth Company," or "Council for New England," in Old England, established by Patent, bearing date November 3, 1620. (Hu.)
 The Mayflower sails from England, September 6th.
 Reaches Cape Cod, November 9th.
 Compact signed on board the Mayflower, November 10th.
 "Forefathers' day," landing at Plymouth, 11th December, O.S., 22d December, N.S.
 A Dutch ship brings Negro slaves to Virginia.
1621. The King of England makes grant of lands (Acadia) to Sir William Alexander, a Scotchman.
 Also to John Mason, between the Merrimack and Naumkeag Rivers.
 Treaty with Massasoit.
1622. Weston's Colony began at Wessagusset (Weymouth).
 Grant made by the Plymouth Company, in England, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, of lands between the Merrimack and Sagadahock rivers; named Laconia.
1623. Captain Robert Gorges comes over (September) as Lieutenant-General returns the same year. (Hu.)

1623. The Plymouth Company in England grant lands to John Pierce.
Settlement begun on the Piscataqua (N. H.), by Thompson and the Hiltons.
1624. Lyford, the Minister, and Captain Oldham, make trouble at Plymouth;
they begin a settlement at Nantasket.
The first cattle imported into New England, a bull and three heifers,
brought over by Winslow.
Charles I. becomes King of England.
1625. Captain Wollaston begins a settlement; Thomas Morton afterward con-
trolled it, and called the place Merry Mount. (Now Quincy, Mass.)
Roger Conant removes from Nantasket to Cape Ann. (Hu.)
Salem begun by him.
Last of the Fathers reach Plymouth.
1627. The Council of Plymouth (in England), sold a title to lands upon which
"Massachusetts Bay" was settled (March 1627).
Swedes and Finns settle on the Delaware.
1628. John Endicott, first Governor, lands at Salem, September 6th.
Charlestown (M.) begun.
Thomas Morton sent away to England.
1629. Royal Charter granted to the Massachusetts Bay Colony (March 4th),
On the 29th of August, the Government and Patent transferred to
New England.
By the Treaty of St. Germain, Charles I. resigned New France (Aca-
dia and Canada), to France.
1630. On the 12th of June, John Winthrop, the Governor, arrived at Salem,
on board the Arbella.
Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Minister Phillips, begin a settlement at
Watertown (June 17).
Before the end of the year, 1500 new settlers arrive.
September 30th, Isaac Johnson dies.
August 23d, First Court of Assistants held.
Patent granted to Plymouth Colony (January 13th).
Boston (called Shawmut) begun (September 17th).
Sir William Alexander sells his rights in Nova Scotia, to La Tour, a
Frenchman.
Medford (M.) incorporated.
Watertown (M.) settled.
Dorchester (M.) settled.
Roxbury (M.) settled.
1631. Newtown (Cambridge) begun.
19th of October, Court held at Charlestown, not by deputy, but by all
the Freemen.
May—Second Court—ordered that none but Church members here-
after be admitted as Freemen.
March 19th, first grant of Connecticut made to Earl of Warwick, trans-
ferred to Lords Say, Brook, etc.

- 1631 or 1632, Williams, Chadburne, and others, sent over by Mason and Gorges, begin a settlement at Strawberry Bank (Portsmouth).
 Roger Williams arrives.
 Winthrop's Bark built.
1632. The Plymouth Settlers' trading-house at Penobscot robbed by the French.
 May 8. At General Court at Boston it is agreed that the people should choose the Assistants every year, and then the Assistants should choose one of their number for Governor.
 John Eliot settled at Roxbury.
 Edward Winslow chosen Governor of Plymouth, Bradford having resigned.
 Gorges, Mason, Gardiner, Morton, and Ratcliff, active against the Mass. Bay Colony in England.
 Fort begun at Boston, on Cornhill.
 First Church in Boston begun.
 Night Watch set by the Constable.
 William Laud made Primate of England.
1633. The King orders Mr. Cradock to return the letters patent of the Colony to the Council. It was not done.
 The Plymouth Colonists send Captain Holmes to erect a trading-house on the Connecticut River at Windsor, above Hartford.
 The Salary of the Governor of Mass. Bay made £150. (The Colony record has it £100.)
 Reverends Cotton, Hooker, and Stone, arrive; the first settled at Boston, the two latter at Newtown. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Pierce arrive.
 John Oldham goes across land to Connecticut to trade.
 Carpenters' Wages rise to three shillings the day, but reduced by law to two; and the advance on Goods from England limited to 4 pence on the shilling.
 Small-pox among the Indians of Sagus; at Narragansett it is reported 700 had died of it.
 Mr. Allerton fished with eight boats at Marble Harbor.
 Samuel Cole sets up the first Tavern in Boston, and John Cogan the first Merchant's shop.
 February—Discussion warm about the use of Vails.
 Ipswich (M.) begun.
 Scituate (M.) settled.
1634. First Legislature; the Freemen in General Court agree, that as their numbers are so great, each plantation shall choose two or three to act as their Representatives.
 Trouble with Roger Williams begins.
 It is ordered that four Courts be held in the year, and that the people meet only at the Election of Magistrates.
 Mr. Humphrey arrives.

1634. Mr. Cradock sends for the Patent: the Governor and Council decide not to send it.
 Governor and Council agree to erect a Fort on Castle Island.
 Rumor arrives that a General Governor was coming over.
 £600 is raised toward the Fortifications, as *there was some talk of* resisting the new Governor.
 Endicott at Salem cuts out the Cross from the Colors, because it was a popish symbol.
 Stone and Norton killed by the Indians on Connecticut River.
 Some of the Watertown people settled at Weathersfield, Connecticut.
 John Haynes, Governor of Massachusetts.
1635. Commission for Military Affairs in Mass. Bay appointed, with full powers.
 April—Alarm about English ships hovering over the Coast; it was nothing.
 June—A Dutch ship arrives, bringing twenty-seven Flanders mares (at £34 each); three horses; sixty-three heifers (£12 each), and eighty-eight sheep (at 50s. each).
 Oct.—John Winthrop, the younger, arrived with a Commission from Lords Say and Brook, and began a plantation at Conn. (Saybrook).
 Oct.—Sir Harry Vane and Hugh Peters arrive.
 Roger Williams banished.
 Oct.—Sixty Settlers travel across land to settle on the Connecticut River, at Windsor.
 Nov.—John Winthrop, the younger, sends 20 men to take possession of the mouth of the Connecticut River.
 Musket-balls pass current as farthings.
 Writ of Quo Warranto brought in England against the Mass. Bay Charter.
 Great Charter of the Plymouth Company in England is given up.
 Captain Oldham killed by Indians.
 The French from Nova Scotia take possession of the Plymouth trading house at Penobscot, and keep it.
 A Commission for regulating the Colonies, appointed in England.
 Newbury (M.) incorporated.
 Concord (M.) begun.
 Dedham (M.) begun.
 Hingham (M.) begun.
1636. Sir Henry Vane chosen Governor of Massachusetts.
 Providence settled by Roger Williams.
 May—Certain persons chosen Magistrates for life: it continued for three years only.
 May—Rev. Mr. Hooker and friends remove from Newtown to Connecticut (Hartford).
 Expedition sent under Endicott to punish the Indians of Block Island, for the murder of Oldham. Pequot War, August.
 The General Court grants £400 toward the erection of a Public School at Newtown.

1636. Springfield begun by William Pyncheon.
 First Court held in Connecticut by Roger Ludlow and five others, to try Henry Stiles for selling a gun to an Indian.
 Mrs. Hutchinson comes over from England, and the great Antinomian Controversy in New England begun.
 Providence (R. I.) begun.
 General Court of Massachusetts Bay meets but twice a year.
 Plymouth laws collected.
1637. Danger of a tumult between the friends of Vane and Winthrop at the May Election
 Winthrop chosen Governor.
 A Synod of the Clergy, held at Newtown, to consider Mrs. Hutchinson's Heresies.
 Eighty opinions condemned, August 17.
 Mrs. Hutchinson banished, February.
 Mr. Wheelwright banished.
 The Pequots attacked by Captain Mason at Mystic Fort, and slaughtered, May 26.
 Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, and Rev. Mr. Davenport, with friends, arrive (June); they settle New Haven the next April.
 First steps taken toward a Confederation of the Colonies.
 First Delegates from Connecticut towns meet at Hartford in May.
 William Aspinwall banished, and others who took part with Mrs. Hutchinson; some disfranchised, and about sixty disarmed, Nov.
 Foul story about Mary Dyer's child ("The Monster") circulated over the Colony. She was a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson.
 Saybrook Fort built.
 Sandwich (M.) begun.
 Taunton (M.) purchased from Indians.
 Lynn ("Saugust is called Lin").
 Duxbury (M.) incorporated.
1638. Order comes from the Lords of the Council, requiring the return of the Charter. It was not sent.
 Great Earthquake this year, January.
 New Haven begun, 18th of April, p. 241.
 Harvard College founded by bequest from John Harvard, Minister of Charlestown (£700).
 Many Ships and Settlers arrive this year.
 Troubles in Scotland about using the "Book of Common Prayer" begun.
 Rhode Island bought by Coddington.
 Many of Mrs. Hutchinson's friends remove to Aquiday, or Aquidneck (Rhode Island).
 The Court exhort the Ministers to speak to their people, "to restrain Costliness of Apparel."
 Differences spring up between the Massachusetts Bay Government

1638. and Connecticut and Plymouth; the two last jealous that the large Colony was grasping.
 A "Vehement Earthquake" in New England, June 1.
 Rowley (M.) settled.
 Some Negro Slaves in Massachusetts (see vol. ii., p. 167).
 Rev. Mr. Wheelwright being banished, settles with his friends at Exeter on the banks of the Piscataqua.
 On the 4th of April, the Lords in Council wrote to Governor Winthrop, demanding the Patent, threatening the vengeance of the King.
 Scotland signed the Covenant (national), and rose in arms against the King and the Church.
 Sudbury (M.) settled.
1639. Burdet writes from Piscataqua to some of the Archbishops in England against the Massachusetts people; saying that "it was not discipline they aimed at so much as sovereignty."
 Another order comes that the Charter be sent to England, which the Magistrates concluded not to answer.
 Connecticut Government begun.
 Church difficulties break out at Weathersfield.
 June 4—First meeting of Deputies in Plymouth.
 Robert Keayne censured and heavily fined for charging too much for his goods (at Boston). He seems to have held to Free Trade.
 Colonel George Fenwick arrives, and settles at Saybrook, Ct.
 The Settlers at Dover on the Piscataqua come under the Massachusetts Bay Government.
 The name of "Maine" given to the East Country.
 Reverends Mr. Cotton and Nathaniel Ward directed to draw up a Body of Laws, to be submitted to the Governor and Deputy.
 Attention turned toward Southern plantations, and Mr. John Humphrey induced to go to Providence Island (West Indies).
 First Printing Press set up at Cambridge by Stephen Day.
 Hartford, Weathersfield, and Windsor, form themselves into a Commonwealth (Connecticut), 14th January.
 John Haynes chosen Governor of Connecticut.
 Yarmouth begun.
 Guilford, Connecticut, begun.
 Milford, Connecticut, begun.
 Fairfield, Connecticut, begun.
 Stratford, Connecticut, begun.
1640. Voluntary Contributions of £500, made by the towns to Governor Winthrop, as some compensation for his services to the State, and for losses in his own affairs.
 October—Corn made a legal tender for debts; Indian at 4s.; Rye at 5s.; wheat at 6s. a bushel, in consequence of the scarcity of money.
 Merchants would sell only for money

1640. The use of Tobacco prohibited in Massachusetts.
 Long Island settled by some people from Lynn.
 A Negro Maid of Mr. Stoughton's made a Church Member.
 The Long Parliament in England meet.
 Boundary between Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies settled.
 Salisbury (M.) incorporated.
 Marshfield (M.) incorporated.
 Farmington, Connecticut, begun.
 Greenwich, Connecticut, begun by Dutch.
1641. Settlers at Piscataqua, Dover and Portsmouth (New Hampshire) come under the Massachusetts Bay Government.
 Scarcity of Money compels people to provide articles for shipment to England—such as Fish, Clapboards, Hemp, and Flax; and to look to the West Indies for Cotton.
 Dispute between Dutch and Puritans about the ownership of lands around Hartford.
 The "Body of Liberties" (consisting of 100 (98) Laws) prepared by Nathaniel Ward, the Minister of Ipswich, adopted.
 Sharp Words between Deputy Governor Endicott and Mr. Hathorne in the Court.
 Great Frost, so that the Sea is frozen over as far as visible. Snow lies three feet deep in Maine.
 Colonies decline to put themselves under protection of the Long Parliament. "It might prove prejudicial to us to submit to their laws."
 Francis Hutchinson and Mr. Collins (son, and son-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson), being in Boston, are brought up before the Governor for writing and speaking against the Churches and Ministers—are fined £100 each, and imprisoned.
 Great Training at Boston; twelve hundred soldiers out, and not one drunk.
 300,000 dry fish sent to market this year.
 Delaware Bay; a settlement attempted there by the New Haven people. Stamford, Connecticut, settled.
1642. The House of Commons exempts the produce and commerce of the Colonies from taxation or duties.
 Five ships built; three at Boston, and one each at Dorchester and Salem.
 One Darby Field, an Irishman, penetrates to the top of the White Mountains.
 Thomas Mayhew settles on Martha's Vineyard.
 Great disturbance about a stray sow, which began in 1636.
 One Neale comes from Calvert, in Maryland, to buy mares and sheep.
 Edward Bendall goes down in a diving-bell of his own construction, made of wood.
 Ships bring salt from the West Indies, and take back staves.

1642. News comes of the disagreement between King and Parliament.
 September, Miantonomo visits Boston, and behaves like a man.
 Proceedings against Gorton's settlement commenced.
 Connecticut sends propositions to Massachusetts Bay for a Confederation.
 A ship arrives from Madeira with wines and sugar, and takes in return, staves.
 Corn very scarce. Pigeons in such quantity as to destroy much of the English grain.
 Strafford attainted and Laud impeached in England.
 Few come over then.
 Fifty towns and villages now settled, and the expense of settling Massachusetts Bay Colony not less than £200,000.
 "The Sow business," growing out of the loss of a sow in 1636, by a woman named Sherman, and a sow that had been killed by Captain Keayne, comes before the Court, and convulses the Colony.
 Rev. Mr. Chauncey, of Scituate, practices dipping or immersion in Baptism.
 Powder furnished all the towns of Massachusetts out of the common store.
 Nine Bachelors commence at Cambridge, "young men of good hope."
 One of La Tour's vessels comes to Boston from Nova Scotia, asking help against D'Aulney, with whom he was fighting. One of the Elders gives his Lieutenant a "French Testament with Marlorat's notes, which he kindly accepts, and promises to read it." He wants help, and is polite and pious. Some of the Boston merchants send a vessel to trade with La Tour; but D'Aulney meets them on their return at Pemaquid, and threatens to seize them if they go again.
 Mr. Gorge and Mr. Vines, from Maine, visit the White Mountains.
 Briscoe, of Watertown, writes a book against being taxed to support the Church and he no member; is fined £10.
 Thomas Mayhew removes to Martha's Vineyard. Edgartown begun.
1643. Violent quarrel between Samuel Gorton and the Massachusetts Bay Government. Gorton's settlement at Showamet broken up, and Gorton imprisoned.
 May—Confederation formed—between the Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven—for mutual protection.
 "The Sow business" continues, and many led to demand that the negative voice of the Magistrates shall be taken away.
 House of Commons orders that trade between the Colonies of New England and the Mother Country shall be free.
 May—Oath of Allegiance to King Charles omitted, in Massachusetts.
 June—La Tour, from Acadia, arrives in Boston, seeking aid against D'Aulney, and is well received by the Authorities, etc. Much dis-

- cussion as to the propriety of associating with "Idolaters," he being a Papist. But he hires four ships, and seventy soldiers.
1643. An effort made to take away the negative voice of the Magistrates; not successful.
- Fight between UNCAS and MIANTONOMO. Miantonomo taken prisoner and put to death.
- Presbyterians baffled in their endeavors to establish a Church at Boston.
- Massachusetts divided into four Counties: Suffolk, Middlesex, Essex, and Norfolk.
- Haverhill settled (about this year).
- Woburn (M.) incorporated.
- Lancaster (Nashua) begun.
- James Britton and Mary Latham put to death for Adultery. "They both die very penitently, especially the woman."
- Manufacture of cotton begun. Linen and woolen also in action.
- Martha's Vineyard settled by Watertown people.
- Two strange lights, like moons, rise and meet over Noddle's Island—they shoot out flames and sparkles—and a voice is heard in the water crying out in "a dreadful manner, boy—boy—come away—come away. It is heard by divers godly persons."
- MR. RIGBY, who bought the "Plow patent," arrives at Boston. Cleaves is his Deputy at Sagadahock. Vines is Gorges deputy; the two come into collision, and Cleaves appeals to the Magistrates of the Bay.
- Iron works. Three thousand acres of land granted to John Winthrop, jr., and his partners, about Braintree, to enable them to establish iron works.
1644. Since 1635, the French in Acadia divided, part led by La Tour, and part by d'Aulney; there was disturbance and fighting. In this year the Mass. Bay entered into peace with d'Aulney, having formerly favored La Tour. D'Aulney died in 1652, and La Tour married his widow, and regained his power.
- William Brewster dies, aged 84.
- May—Difference between the Magistrates and the Deputies as to the powers of the former. It is agreed that the Magistrates shall exercise power in the intervals of the "Courts" or Legislative meetings; but their doings are to be submitted to the Deputies.
- Sept.—Roger Williams arrives from England, at Boston, with letters from divers Lords and men of influence, desiring that he might be treated civilly. He brings a Charter for Providence and Rhode Island.
- Anabaptists banished from Massachusetts.
- Two Ships, one of 250 tons, built at Cambridge; and one of 200 tons, built at Boston, sail to the Canaries with Staves, Fish, etc.
- Captain Stagg, in one of the Parliament's Ships, takes possession of a British Ship and Cargo at Boston.

1644. Thomas Morton (having been kept in prison about a year, and being "old and crazy"), fined £100, and set at liberty. He dies about two years after, at "Acomenticus."
 Connecticut settlers buy their rights from Lords Say and his associates.
 Rehoboth (M.) settled.
 Reading (M.) incorporated.
 Hull (M.) incorporated.
1645. Struggle for power continues between the Assistants, or Magistrates, and the Deputies (1636).
 The Magistrates wish to act independently of the Deputies, and they resist.
 Smith and Keyser attack some Negroes on the coast of Africa, and bring away two to Massachusetts; these two are by the Court ordered to be set at liberty, and sent home.
 Law passed in Massachusetts against slave stealing.
 Manufacture of iron at Lynn and Braintree begun.
 Free Schools established at Roxbury and other towns, to be supported by voluntary allowance, or by tax upon such as refuse.
 By agreement, each family in all the N. E. colonies gives 1 peck of corn, or 12 pence, to Cambridge College.
 Governor Hopkin's wife, of Hartford, goes crazy, "by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books."
 Violent dispute breaks out at HINGHAM about the choice of Captain of their military company. The Magistrates refuse to allow the choice of the people; and there is vast confusion in State and Church. It is the old dispute continued as to the power of the Magistrates, of which the people are jealous.
 Manchester (M.) incorporated.
1646. Samuel Maverick, Robert Childe, Thomas Fowle, William Vassal, and others, petition the Court to grant the rights of freemen to others than Church members. Great disturbance in consequence. They are fined, and denied the liberty of complaint to the Government in England. (See vol. i., ch. xxxv.)
 The General Court, this year, for the first time, pass an act to encourage the spread of the Gospel among the Indians.
 New London (Ct.) settled by John Winthrop, the younger.
 January—Some of the principal men of New Haven fit out and sail for England in a large ship, which is never heard of afterward.
 A synod meets at Cambridge.
 Letter received at Massachusetts from Earl Warwick and persons in authority in England, that the people at Gorton's settlement be let alone.
 In the discussions about claims of England under the Patent, the

1646. Court decide that the colony owe to England (only) one fifth part of ores of gold and silver found in the colony.
 Eliot begins to preach to the Indians.
 The "strong hand of God is upon us"—in armies of caterpillars—"Much prayer and fasting" remove them suddenly.
 The roof of Lady Moody's house at Salem blown off. The house was but 9 feet high, with a flat roof.
 Captain Cromwell, a privateer or buccanneer, arrives "providentially" at Plymouth; where, spending money freely, he relieves the great necessities of the people.
 Eastham incorporated as a town.
 Andover (M.) incorporated.
1647. Fort, at Saybrook mouth of the Connecticut River, burned, with much goods.
 Trouble between the Dutch at Manhadoes and the English at New Haven.
 Jesuits forbidden in Massachusetts.
 A person executed for witchcraft, in Hartford, Ct.
 Rev. T. Hooker dies.
 Canonicus dies.
 Governor Keift, of Massachusetts, drowned on his way to Holland—"a punishment for troubling the Puritans in Connecticut" as many think.
 "Providence Plantations" united.
1648. Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, executed for a witch. The principal evidence against her is, that persons whom she touched are supposed to have been made sick by it.
 Cambridge Platform adopted.
1649. John Winthrop dies, aged 63 (March 26).
 March—Endicott (Governor) joins with others against the use of long hair; the Bible saying, "It is a shame for men to wear long hair," Charles I. beheaded.
 Connecticut "Body of Laws" adopted; prepared by Ludlow.
 Common Schools legalized in Massachusetts.
 Marblehead (M.) incorporated.
 Stonington, Connecticut, begun.
 Norwalk, Connecticut, settled.
1650. Stuyvesant, Governor of the Dutch colony at Manhadoes (New York), comes to Hartford to settle differences; and a line between New Netherlands and New Haven is agreed upon.
 This year, Harvard College made a body corporate.
 Medfield (M.) incorporated.
 Middletown, Connecticut, begun.
1651. Sumptuary laws passed in Massachusetts. Also, dancing at taverns forbidden.
 Navigation Act passed in England, to secure all transportation to and from English colonies in English vessels.

1651. John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandall—Baptists—from Rhode Island, apprehended in Massachusetts, fined, imprisoned; and Crandall whipped for teaching heresy, etc.
War breaks out between England and Holland.
1652. The principal settlements in Maine come into the Massachusetts government.
December 23—Rev. Mr. Cotton dies, aged 68.
Mint at Boston, established, and first money struck in Massachusetts; bearing on one side N. E., on the other the value of the coin. The coins are 3*d.*, 6*d.*, and 1*s.* The pine-tree is afterward put on one side.
First iron forge in New England, built by the Leonards, at Raynham.
1653. Trouble this year, excited by reports that the Dutch, at Manhadoes, are stirring up the Indians against the English; which the Dutch governor strongly denies.
Governor Dudley dies July 31st, aged 77.
First fire in Boston.
President Dunster preaches against infant baptism, at Cambridge.
1654. Ship sent from England, under command of Major Sedgewick and Captain Leverett, to act against the Dutch at Manhadoes; but peace being agreed upon at home, they go against the French at Penobscot, St. Johns, etc., and take the country of Acadia.
In Massachusetts Bay, an order prohibiting trade with the Dutch, repealed.
Major Willard goes with a body of troops against Ninigrate, chief of the Narragansetts, but accomplishes nothing. (October.)
In Connecticut, are 775 ratable persons.
John Haynes, Governor of Connecticut, dies.
Law in Massachusetts Bay to support a minister, in every town, by general tax. Ministers not taxed.
Dunster, President of Harvard College obliged to resign, because of Anabaptist opinions.
Reeves and Muggleton's books ordered to be burnt. (Mass.)
Northampton, Massachusetts, begun.
Derby, Connecticut, begun.
1655. Mrs. Ann Hibbins, widow of a former Assistant, condemned as a witch; executed in 1656.
Cromwell urges the New Englanders to remove to Ireland; and again he wishes them to people Jamaica.
Governor Eaton compiles a body of laws for New Haven colony.
Edward Winslow dies in the West Indies.
Groton (M.) begun.
1656. Proceedings against the Quakers begun.
Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrive in July, from Barbadoes.
Miles Standish dies at Duxbury.
Bridgewater (M.) incorporated.

1557. Governor Bradford dies, 9th of May. His elegy ran thus:

"The ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plymouth took;
Governor Bradford then expired his breath,
Was called away by force of cruel death," etc.

Alexander, son of Massasoit, charged with a plot against the whites in Plymouth. He dies.

Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins die at New Haven.

Plymouth supports Churches and Schools by legal taxes.

1658. Death penalty passed in Massachusetts against the Quakers.

Oliver Cromwell dies in England.

Sir Richard Saltonstall dies in England.

1659. Massachusetts grants £100 annually to Harvard College.

Isaac Allerton dies at New Haven.

Hadley (M.) begun.

Nantucket occupied by Thomas Macey.

William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson executed as returned Quakers, after having been banished.

1660. William Ledra (Quaker), executed March 14, 1660.

Mary Dyer (Quaker), executed June, 1660.

Charles II. restored to the throne in England.

John Eliot recants opinions, in a book of his, unfavorable to monarchy. called "The Christian Commonwealth."

Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the King's Judges, arrive at Boston.

Tar, clapboards, and shingles, are exported.

Wolves common.

Hugh Peters put to death in England.

Wigs begin to come into use in New England, and beards to go out.

Francis Newman dies at New Haven.

Marshpee secured for the Indians, by Richard Bourne.

Marlborough (M.) incorporated.

Brookfield begun.

Norwich, Connecticut, settled.

1661. Order sent from the King in England, Charles II. (Sept. 9), that the Quakers shall not suffer capital or corporeal punishment.

Eliot's translation of New Testament into the Indian language, finished.

Charles II. proclaimed "our sovereign lord and king," in Massachusetts, "on the 8th day of this instant, August (1661), presently after the lecture."

1662. King Charles's letter received in Massachusetts, declaring the rights of Episcopalians, and directing property, not religion, to be the basis of citizenship.

Synod of the Churches in Boston (September).

Charter granted to Connecticut by Charles II. (dated April 23), through the influence of John Winthrop.

1662. Act of Uniformity passed in England, and 2,000 ministers ejected.
 Sir Henry Vane executed in England.
 "Halfway Covenant" proposed and adopted in N. E.
 Children of respectable people not "professors," allowed to be baptized.
 Licensers for the press appointed in Massachusetts.
1663. Charter granted to Rhode Island by Charles II.
 Eliot's Indian Bible printed at Cambridge.
 Line fixed between Connecticut and Rhode Island.
 Killingworth, Connecticut, begun.
 Charles II. grants Acadia to his brother, the Duke of York.
1664. Colonel Dixwell, another of the regicides, joins Whalley and Goffe at Hadley.
 Grant of New York, and a large part of Connecticut, made to the Duke of York.
 In the spring rumors come that the Charters are to be recalled, and that ships of war are coming over.
 The ships arrive, July 23d, having on board Colonel Richard Nichols and George Cartwright, Esq., who, with Sir Robert Carr and Samuel Maverick, are to be a Commission for settling affairs in the colonies.
 Wheat begins to blast, or mildew, and the Quakers say it is a just judgment of God, for their persecutions.
 Manhadoes surrendered by the Dutch to the English (25th of August), and by them called New York.
 Dartmouth (M.) incorporated.
 Lyme, Connecticut, begun.
 Sir Mathew Hale gives his decision in favor of witchcraft.
1665. Turner, Gold, Drinker, and others, fined, imprisoned, and banished from Massachusetts, for being Anabaptists.
 Governor Endicott dies, aged 77.
 Baptists form a Church at Boston.
 Connecticut and New Haven united under one Government.
 Militia of Massachusetts consist of 4,000 foot, and 400 horse soldiers.
 The people of Rhode Island do not permit their Government to banish Quakers.
1666. Great Fire in London.
 War between France and England.
 Massachusetts again assumes jurisdiction over Maine.
 Counties laid out in Connecticut, New Haven, Hartford, Middlesex, and New London.
1667. Peace between England and Holland, and England and France.
 Rev. John Wilson dies, aged 79.
 Swansey (M.) incorporated.
 Mendon (M.) incorporated.
1668. Massachusetts sends a troop of horse to enforce their jurisdiction in Maine.

1668. Gold, Turner, and Farnum (Baptists) banished and imprisoned in Massachusetts for holding meetings.
Amesbury (M.) incorporated.
Beverly (M.) incorporated.
1669. Massachusetts Indians, 700 strong, march against the Mohawks, and are defeated.
Attleborough (M.) begun.
Westfield (M.) incorporated.
1770. Rev. John Davenport dies.
The title of "Reverend" now applied to the clergy.
Deerfield (M.) begun.
Hatfield (M.) incorporated.
Witchcraft in Mohra (Sweden). Vol. ii., p. 42.
1671. Trouble with Philip of Pokanoket threatens.
Deerfield (Mass.) settled by the Dedham people.
Six Baptist Churches now established in America.
Charles Chauncey dies, aged 80.
Plymouth laws printed.
Negroes brought from Barbadoes to South Carolina.
1672. The Governor of Mass. solicits aid for Harvard College.
War declared by England against Holland.
England begins to lay taxes on the colonies.
Wallingford, Connecticut, organized.
Woodbury, Connecticut, begun.
The "African Company" re-formed in England for the fourth time.
1673. The fort on Castle Island, in Boston, harbor burnt, and a new one of stone built.
New York retaken by the Dutch.
New England supposed to contain 120,000 inhabitants.
Thomas Prence, or Prince, Governor of Plymouth, dies, aged 73.
Bradford (M.) incorporated.
Northfield (M.) begun.
1674. The General Court of Massachusetts orders two vessels to be armed, to act against the Dutch in Long Island Sound.
Nigh three thousand "Praying Indians" now in New England.
Upon signing the treaty of peace between England and Holland, New York again comes into possession of the English, Sir Edmund Andros Governor.
1675. June—King Philip's war begins.
August—Brookfield burned by Indians.
December—Battle of the Swamp in the Narragansett country.
Governor Andros, of New York, appears before Saybrook, and demands the fort for the Duke of York: it is refused.
First public fast in New England—June 29.
1676. Lancaster and Marlboro' assaulted by the Indians.
March—Captain Pierce and company cut off.

1676. Philip killed—August 12.
Six hundred inhabitants of New England lose their lives during this war.
Severe drought in New England.
Major Waldron seizes two hundred Indians at Dover.
Great fire in Boston; burns forty-five dwelling-houses, a church, and warehouses.
John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, dies.
Canonchet, son of Miantonomo, shot by English at Stonington.
1677. Northfield, Hatfield, Deerfield, and Hadley, assaulted by the Indians.
Maine purchased from Gorges by Massachusetts.
Building of brick made for Harvard College.
A law against Quakers passed; fining and subjecting to House of Correction for attending Quaker meetings.
Margaret Brewster (a Quaker) creates an uproar in Salem church, by entering it, wearing only a canvass frock, with her face blackened, her hair flowing, and her feet bare.
Prices for turnips and apples 1s. a bushel; men's wages for a year, ten pounds; women's, five pounds; board, 4s. a week; labor, 2s. a day (this is sterling money).
Four booksellers established in Boston.
The "Rogerones," a singular sect, spring up in Connecticut; they keep Saturday, and work Sunday.
Waterbury, Connecticut, begun.
1678. Number of houses in New York city, 343.
William Coddington, of Rhode Island, dies, aged 78.
John Leverett dies.
Benedict Arnold, of Rhode Island, dies.
Edward Randolph appointed collector, etc., of Boston.
Negroes (forty or fifty) brought from Madagascar, and sold in Boston.
1679. Charles II. cites the colonies to appear before him at Whitehall, and make good their title to the Narragansett country.
August 8th—Great fire in Boston: loss, \$200,000.
September—Synod at Boston.
First Baptist meeting-house built in Boston.
Commission issued in England for the separate Government of New Hampshire; it is made a royal province.
Edward Randolph comes over as collector of customs at Boston.
Roger Conant dies.
1680. Connecticut contains 26 towns and 21 churches, 30 slaves, price £22 each, 24 small vessels, 2,507 militia.
Eighty churches now in New England.
Newport the principal town of Rhode Island; the exports are horses and provisions.
John Wheelwright dies.
Doors of the Baptist meeting-house in Boston nailed up by the magistrates' orders, and the Baptists forbid to hold meetings in it.

- The "Savoy Confession of Faith" adopted in New England.
1681. Randolph presents, before the Lords of the Council, charges of misdemeanor against members of the General Court of Massachusetts; returns to Massachusetts, and tries to collect customs and duties without success.
- Mason arrives at New Hampshire, and attempts to exercise the powers of lord proprietor; is refused, and flies the colony.
- Grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn.
- Goody Morse, wife of a shoemaker, comes near being hung at Newbury, for being a witch. She is condemned, but reprieved.
1682. Mr. Dudley and John Richards sent to England to answer Randolph's complaint. Opinion in the colony divided; some favoring the claims of England, others those of the colony. They were called "Patriot" and "Prerogative" men.
- New Hampshire contains 4 townships, and 4,000 inhabitants.
- A bell rung in the New Haven meeting-house, which took the place of the drum, before used.
1683. Charles II. appoints Commissioners to report as to the various claims to the Narragansett country.
1684. Charter of Massachusetts Bay vacated in England (18th June).
- The Governor and majority of Assistants advised to yield it; the Deputies determine to contest it in law.
- Religion declines.
- Oct.—Charles II. appoints Colonel Kirk Governor for New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, and the Narragansett country; he does not come.
- Danbury, Connecticut, begun.
1685. Worcester is settled and prospers till 1701, when the wars with the Indians drive all the inhabitants away from the town. In 1713 it is again settled.
- Charles II. dies.
- Plymouth colony divided into three colonies—Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable.
- Second edition of Eliot's Indian Bible. (See p. 330, vol. i.)
1686. First Episcopal Church in Boston organized.
- Sir Edmund Andros arrives as Governor of New England (Dec. 19).
- Charters of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut abrogated.
- Andros assumes the Government of Rhode Island.
- Falmouth (Mass.) incorporated.
- Pomfret (Conn.) settled.
- Windham (Conn.) begun.
1687. Andros attempts to take possession of the Connecticut Charter without success. It is secreted by Captain Wadsworth in the Charter Oak at Hartford, 31st Oct.
- Swearing with the Book introduced into N. E. Objected to by the people.

1688. Sir Edmund Andros makes laws, and levies taxes at pleasure. Ipswich and some other towns refuse to pay them.
Some of the people of Boston send Increase Mather to England to get relief.
Episcopalians build King's Chapel in Boston.
Indian war called Baron Castine's war breaks out in the East (Maine).
John Goodwin's children supposed to be bewitched. Vol. ii., p. 44.
1689. War with the eastern Indians.
Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of Massachusetts, seized by the people; escapes to Rhode Island, but taken, and delivered to the people of Massachusetts.
Convention called in Massachusetts to manage their own affairs. Old Charter resumed.
William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen in England, 16th of February. In Boston, May 29.
Rhode Island and Connecticut resume their Charters.
Dr. Increase Mather, agent from Massachusetts, has a number of interviews with William and the Queen, and makes great efforts to get a renewal of the old Charters; in default of that, to get a grant of a new one.
Captain Waldron killed at Dover (Quochecho).
Plainfield (Conn.) settled.
1690. Sir William Phips takes possession of the country east of Penobscot River.
Whale fishery in boats from the shore begun at Nantucket.
Schenectady destroyed by French and Indians, Feb. 8th.
Expedition against Canada, undertaken by Phips with 1,200 men; unsuccessful.
Leisler attempts to court-martial General Winthrop.
First paper money issued in Massachusetts to pay the troops.
John Eliot, the Apostle, dies, aged 86.
The Synod presents "the Heads of Agreement."
1691. King William III. grants a second Charter to Massachusetts, Oct. 7th, 1691.
Plymouth joined to Massachusetts.
Indian wars in Maine (Madokawando).
1692. Sir William Phips arrives as Governor of Massachusetts.
Salem witchcraft rife; twenty persons executed for witchcraft. (See vol. ii., p. 41.)
York, in Maine, destroyed by French and Indians.
Pemaquid fort built.
1693. Sir William Phips conquers east of Penobscot, and compels Baron Castine to submit.
Governor Fletcher, of New York, attempts to take the control of the Connecticut militia, but is resisted.
Post Office established in Boston.

1694. The Selectmen, in every town in Massachusetts, required to post the names of common drunkards and tipplers.
Judge of Admiralty, for Boston, appointed by the King.
Custom-house officers also appointed.
1695. Sir William Phips dies.
Captain William Kidd commissioned to act against pirates. (See vol. ii., p. 57.)
1696. The French and Indians, under Baron Castine, take the Massachusetts fort, at Pemaquid.
Nova Scotia laid waste by the French.
One hundred and thirty Churches, and one hundred thousand souls, in New England. Thirty Indian Churches in New England.
Pamphlet appears in England, recommending the taxing of the colonies.
Very severe winter, and scarcity of provisions.
Governor Fletcher, of New York, makes grants of lands in Vermont.
1697. New England alarmed with the prospect of a French invasion.
Five hundred men sent, under Major March, to the eastern frontiers.
Peace of Ryswick (20th September), saves them from war.
Governor Simon Bradstreet dies.
1698. Great fire in Salem.
Haverhill attacked by French and Indians.
The Assembly of Connecticut divides itself into two Houses: the Governor and Assistants forming one, the Deputies the other.
The French (Governor Villebon, of Acadia) give notice to Massachusetts, that the English will not be allowed to fish on the coast.
Durham, Connecticut, begun.
1699. Brattle-street Church formed with a new Constitution.
Massachusetts Legislature passes an act against vagabonds and beggars.
Treaty of peace signed with the eastern Indians, at Penobscot.
William Kidd, the pirate, taken at Boston, and sent to England.
Law made in England that wool and woolen goods shall not be exported from the colonies out of the King's dominions.
1700. New York and Massachusetts banish Jesuits and Popish priests.
Boston contains 1,000 houses, and 7,000 people.
Friends, or Quakers, build a meeting-house at Newport.
Yale College begun.
Killingly, Connecticut, settled.
1701. Yale College chartered in Connecticut; the Assembly makes a grant of £120.
The Newfoundland fishery employs one hundred and twenty-one vessels—8,000 tons' burden.
Massachusetts attempts to put a stop to the importation of negroes.
Colchester, Connecticut, begun.
Kidd, the pirate, hanged at Execution Dock, England.
Connecticut Legislature meets alternately at Hartford and New Haven.

1702. Small pox in Boston; 300 died.
Joseph Dudley arrives, with a commission from Queen Anne, to govern the Massachusetts.
A dispute at once begins as to his salary and house.
First Episcopal Church built in Rhode Island.
Queen Anne declares war against France.
1703. Northfield destroyed by Indians.
War with the eastern Indians.
A duty laid on negroes, brought into Massachusetts, of £4 each.
Rhode Island divided into two colonies—Providence and Rhode Island.
The clergy lose influence in New England.
1704. Deerfield destroyed by Indians and French—28th February. 47 of the inhabitants killed, and 112 taken prisoners.
April—First newspaper in America ("Boston News-Letter") published.
Colonel Benjamin Church sent against the eastern Indians with 500 soldiers.
Peregrine White, the first Englishman born in New England, dies, at Marshfield, aged 84.
Rev. William Hubbard dies, aged 83.
A Free School established in every county in Virginia.
1705. The Queen declares the laws made by Carolina against Dissenters, void. The law, excluding all but Church of England men from the Legislature, shortly repealed.
Castle Island, in Boston harbor, named Castle William.
Groton, Connecticut, incorporated.
1706. The Legislature of Connecticut exempt the clergy from taxation.
Samuel Vetch, John Borland, Roger Lawson, William Rowse, John Phillips, Jr., and Ebenezer Coffin, heavily fined for selling munitions to the enemy at Nova Scotia.
1707. Expedition against Port Royal, from New England, unsuccessful.
An Episcopal Church commenced at Stratford, Connecticut; the first in that colony.
Fitz-John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, dies, aged 69.
Rev. Samuel Millard, of Boston, dies, aged 68.
Rev. Abraham Pierson, rector of Yale College, dies.
Plympton (M.) incorporated.
1708. August 29—Haverhill attacked by the Indians from Canada, and more than 40 inhabitants killed.
The Saybrook Platform for church matters, accepted by the Legislature of Connecticut, as the ecclesiastical Constitution of the colony.
1709. Thomas Short sets up the first printing-press in Connecticut, at New London.
An expedition against Canada organized, but not carried out.
First issue of paper money in Connecticut, £8,000.
Colonel Vetch sent over to concert action against Canada.

1710. Quakers build their first meeting-house in Boston.
Port Royal surrendered to the English, and the name changed to Annapolis—2d October.
The British Parliament orders the pine-trees to be preserved for her majesty's navy.
English Post Office system extended to the colonies.
Robert Treat dies, aged 89.
Colonel Schuyler, and chiefs of "Six Nations," visit England.
Judge Sewall writes against slavery: "Selling of Joseph."
1711. Great fire in Boston—October 2.
The Superior Court of Connecticut established.
Boundary line between Connecticut and Massachusetts run anew.
Expedition, by land, led by General Nicholson, by sea, led by Admiral Walker, undertaken against Canada; unsuccessful.
1712. Massachusetts prohibits the introduction of Indian slaves.
Paper money of Massachusetts made a legal tender.
Dighton (M.) incorporated.
Lexington (M.) incorporated.
1713. Peace of Utrecht. Cape Breton given up to France. Nova Scotia to Great Britain. The Assiento clause secures the slave-trade to England.
Peace made with the eastern Indians.
Episcopalians in Boston petition the Queen to establish Bishops in America.
The population of Connecticut 17,000.
Ministers in Connecticut, 43.
The line between Massachusetts and Connecticut settled. Massachusetts returns Connecticut 107,793 acres.
Oxford (M.) incorporated.
1714. Schooners invented and built at Cape Ann.
Anne Stuart (Queen) dies, and is succeeded by George I.
Sir Edmund Andros dies in London.
Singing books introduced.
£50,000 of paper money made and loaned by Massachusetts.
1715. An act passed for building a light-house in Boston harbor.
Worcester resettled.
Population of American colonies, 1715, compiled for Board of Trade—
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|---|---|---------|--------------|
| Whites, | . | . | . | . | 375,750 | |
| Negroes, | . | . | . | . | 58,850 | |
| | | | | | | 434,600 |
| New Hampshire (Whites), | 9,500 | | | | | Negroes, 150 |
| Massachusetts, | " | 94,000 | | | | " 2,000 |
| Rhode Island, | " | 8,500 | | | | " 500 |
| Connecticut, | " | 46,000 | | | | " 1,500 |
1716. From Newfoundland fisheries, are exported to southern Europe 106,952 quintals of fish.

1717. Pirate Bellamy's vessels wrecked near Eastham.
Yale College removed from Saybrook to New Haven.
The trade of Massachusetts employs 3,493 sailors, and 492 ships
Great snow storm; snow falls from ten to twenty feet in depth, February 20 and 24.
New Hampshire issues £15,000 paper money.
1718. Imposts laid in Massachusetts upon West India goods; also upon English manufactures, and a tonnage duty on ships.
1719. The Boston Gazette, published by J. Franklin (second newspaper).
Potatoes introduced first at Andover.
1720. Population of Boston about 11,000. (M. H. C., vol. iv.)
In Massachusetts the Selectmen are empowered to set idle people to work; and women of ill fame forbid to take lodgers.
Tea begun to be used in New England.
Governor Dudley dies at Roxbury, aged 73.
Litchfield, Connecticut, settled.
Thomas Hollis, a Baptist of London, "one of the most liberal of men," endows a professorship of Theology at Harvard College; the salary £80 a year.
1721. "The New England Courant" started at Boston.
Inoculation for small-pox first introduced in Boston; fierce opposition; thought to be an attempt to "thwart God."
844 died with small-pox; 5,889 persons attacked.
Jeremiah Dummer publishes his defense of the New England Charters in England.
Elihu Yale, the benefactor of Yale College, dies in England.
War with the Norridgewock Indians breaks out.
Rhode Island issues £40,000 paper money.
1722. Trouble with Indians and French at the East.
Thomas Hollis, a London merchant, establishes a professorship of Divinity at Harvard College; Edward Wigglesworth elected to fill it.
Rector Cutler, of Yale College, adopts Episcopacy, and is excused from serving as rector.
1723. July 29—26 pirates executed at Newport, R. I.
Increase Mather dies in Boston, aged 85.
First Episcopal Church in Connecticut established at Stratford.
Benjamin and James Franklin had before the Council at Boston for satirizing religious hypocrisy, and the "Courant" subjected to censorship.
1724. Great storm and tide in New England.
An expedition sent against the eastern Indians; Norridgewock taken; the Jesuite Rallé killed, and 80 of his Indians; war ended.
Fort Dummer built (Brattleborough, Vt.)
439 slaves imported into South Carolina.
Massachusetts passes an act against extraordinary expenses at funerals.
Governor Saltonstall, of Connecticut, dies, aged 59.

1724. John Chickley fined £50 in Massachusetts for advocating Episcopacy, and bringing contempt upon ministers.
1725. An attempt made to convene a Synod, by the Ministers; opposed, and finally abandoned. Synods forbidden by the King.
Peace with the Indians.
Massachusetts Government offers a bounty of £100 for Indian scalps.
Sheffield (M.) begun.
Easton (M.) incorporated.
1726. John Baptiste and his son, executed at Boston, as pirates.
Governor Shute, of Massachusetts, carries complaints to England, against the colony. An explanatory Charter granted, giving the Governor power to negative the speaker. January, 1726.
Thomas Hollis, of London, establishes a professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, at Harvard College. Isaac Greenwood appointed.
Pawcatuck River made the boundary between Connecticut and Rhode Island.
1727. The Weekly News-Letter (fourth paper), is published in Boston.
The New England Journal (fifth paper), published in Boston.
October 29—Earthquake in New England, followed by shocks for several months.
King George I. dies.
General peace article signed at Paris.
Great storm of wind and rain. (September.)
Trade languishes.
Episcopalians not taxed in Massachusetts, except for their own Churches. Quakers and Baptists exempted next year. In 1729, the same laws adopted in Connecticut and New Hampshire.
Provincetown (M.) incorporated.
1728. Governor Burnet arrives in Boston (July 13th), and demands a fixed salary.
Cotton Mather dies, aged 65.
An earthquake felt.
1729. Connecticut excuses Quakers and Baptists from Church taxes.
Governor Burnet dies, September 7th.
Bishop Berkley comes over.
Religion declines.
1730. A Presbyterian Church formed in Boston.
Rhode Island contains 17,935 inhabitants; 15,302 whites, 985 Indians, 1,648 negroes.
Governor Belcher arrives in Boston
Four hundred die of small-pox, in Boston.
"The earthquake is pretty loud before day." (February 19th.)
Value of goods exported from England to New England, between 1720 and 1730, \$7,756,935.
Great Barrington (M.) begun.

1730. Brimfield (M.) incorporated.
1731. 120,000 inhabitants in Massachusetts; five to six thousand men employed in the fisheries.
 The boundary between Connecticut and New York settled.
 The General Assembly of Connecticut grants 1,500 acres of land to Yale College. Bishop Berkley gives 96 acres of land, in Rhode Island, and 1,000 volumes of books.
 February 22d—George Washington born at Bridge Creek, Westmoreland, Virginia.
 Paper made in Massachusetts.
 Printing press established at Newport, R. I., and the Rhode Island Gazette published.
 Raynham (M.) incorporated.
 Dudley (M.) incorporated.
 Job-Ben-Solomon, a Maryland slave, redeemed and sent back to his country.
1732. England forbids the colonies to export hats.
1733. First Freemasons' lodge in America, at Boston.
 An Episcopal Church built at Salem.
 Rum extensively manufactured in colonies, at Newport.
 Another earthquake. (October 19th.)
 Georgia settled by Oglethorpe.
1734. Public market established in Boston.
 The third Episcopal Church, in Boston, built.
 "There is an earthquake long and loud." Three more in October and November, "very awful, and terrible, and long."
1735. Religious revival begun in Northampton; Jonathan Edwards minister there.
 The throat distemper, a putrid epidemic disease, in New Hampshire; spreads through the country. It continues through two years; fatal to large numbers of children.
 Grafton (M.) incorporated.
1736. The township of Stockbridge granted to the Housatunnuk Indians—
 Mr. Sargent their missionary.
1737. Mob in Boston destroy the market-house.
 A charitable Irish society formed in Boston.
1738. On the main land, in Rhode Island, are eight Baptist, eight Quaker, four Episcopal, and three Congregational Churches.
 In Newport are seven worshiping assemblies.
 A workhouse, of brick, 120 feet long, built in Boston.
 Edmund Quincy dies in London. The General Court grants to his heirs 1,000 acres of land in Lenox.
 Waltham (M.) incorporated.
 Chelsea incorporated.
 Kent, Connecticut, begun.
1739. War declared between England and Spain.

1739. Sir Robert Walpole declines to tax the American colonies.
One hundred sail of vessels owned at Newport, Rhode Island.
George Whitefield's second visit to America.
1740. War between England and Spain, and troubles between the colonies and the French.
"The Great Revival" of religion sweeps over New England; Rev. George Whitefield and others preach from place to place.
The boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire settled by the lords of council.
Canton, Connecticut, settled.
The "Land Bank" and "Silver Scheme" started in Boston.
1741. Massachusetts has on the stocks forty topsail vessels, measuring in all 7,000 tons.
Benjamin Franklin starts the first literary journal in the United States, called "The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle."
Blandford (M.) incorporated.
Troops drawn from New England to act against Cuba.
Gilbert Tennent itinerates through New England.
1742. Faneuil Hall, in Boston, built, and given to the town by Peter Faneuil.
Boston contains 1,719 dwelling-houses, and 18,000 inhabitants.
Silver, at 6s. 8d. the ounce, made the standard in Massachusetts.
Ashfield (M.) begun.
1743. New England owns 1,000 of sail vessels, beside fishing-boats.
1744. War declared by England against France.
War between the colonies and Canada.
The King presents "the castle," at Boston, with twenty 42-pounders, and two 13-inch mortars.
Massachusetts votes to build forts on her western border, to protect it against the French and Indians.
1745. March—General Pepperell sails from Boston, with troops against Cape Breton.
June 17—Louisburg taken.
The "Massachusetts" war vessel, of 400 tons, launched at Boston.
English merchants, the great slave-traders.
1746. Governor Shirley projects an expedition against Canada, and solicits a fleet from England.
Concord (N. H.) attacked by a party of 100 Indians, who are repulsed.
The yellow fever destroys 100 of the Mohegan Indians of Conn.
An army of 900 French and Indians seize fort Mass. (Aug. 20).
Hoosick (Williamstown) taken by French and Indians.
1747. Parliament votes to reimburse the colonies for their expenses in the expedition against Cape Breton.
The fort at "Number four" (Charleston, N. H.) defended by Captain Stevens and a party of 30 Rangers, against the French and Indians.
Nov. 17—A mob in Boston, in consequence of Commodore Knowles's impressing citizens as seamen for his ships.

1747. The Redwood Library founded at Newport.
The town-house in Boston burnt.
Bristol, Conn., a town.
Saratoga destroyed.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle signed.
Acadia added to England, and the name changed to Nova Scotia.
Exports from England to New England between 1738 and 1748,
\$1,812,894.
500 vessels cleared, and 430 entered the port of Boston.
121 vessels cleared, and 73 entered the port of Portsmouth.
118 vessels cleared, and 56 entered the port of Newport.
1749. Great drought in N. E.
489 vessels entered at Boston. 504 cleared.
The Society in England for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts,
make a movement toward sending bishops to America. It comes to
nothing.
A treaty of peace made with the Maine Indians.
The "Ohio Company" formed with a grant of 600,000 acres from
England.
Bennington begun, under Wentworth's "New Hampshire Grants."
Rhode Island contains 28,439 whites, and 3,077 negroes.
The "Stone Chapel" begun in Boston.
1750. Paper money suppressed, and gold and silver introduced.
"The Great Revival" divides the people into three parties: the Ex-
treme Revivalists; the Moderate Revivalists, and the Conservatives.
Wigs common in N. England.
Theatrical entertainments forbid in Massachusetts and Connecticut.
Parliament forbids the building of iron mills in the colonies.
Inhabitants of N. England estimated as follows:
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| Massachusetts, | . | . | . | . | . | 200,000 |
| Connecticut, | . | . | . | . | . | 100,000 |
| Rhode Island, | . | . | . | . | . | 30,000 |
| New Hampshire, | . | . | . | . | . | 24,000 |
| | | | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | | | 354,000 |
1751. Forts Richmond and Frankfort built on the Kennebec.
The Dudleian Lecture founded at Harvard by Paul Dudley.
Issues of paper money in colonies forbid by act of Parliament.
1752. Bankrupt law passed in Massachusetts; disapproved by the King.
"New Style" introduced by act of Parliament.
In all the colonies were 53 Episcopal ministers, and 96 churches.
Benjamin Franklin demonstrates his theory of electricity.
7669 persons have the small-pox in Boston. 596 die.
Pittsfield (M.) begun.
Palmer (Massachusetts) incorporated.

New Jersey,	.	.	.	.	.	.	60,000
Pennsylvania,	.	.	.	.	.	.	250,000
Maryland,	.	.	.	.	.	.	85,000
Virginia,	.	.	.	.	.	.	85,000
North Carolina,	.	.	.	.	.	.	45,000
South Carolina,	.	.	.	.	.	.	30,000
Georgia,	.	.	.	.	.	.	6,000

Total, 1,051,000

From Ames's Almanack, for 1756. New Hampshire Hist. Coll., vol. v.

Chalmers gives the population in 1754, as Whites, 1,192,896.

Blacks, 292,738.

1756. Massachusetts impoverished by the Crown Point expedition.
 Lord Loudoun comes from England to take command of troops.
 February—Parliament makes a grant to the colonies for expenses in the Crown Point expedition.
 Massachusetts contains about 40,000 fighting men; Connecticut about 27,000.
 September—General Court of Massachusetts directs its agent to remonstrate against the English impressing seamen.
 The New Hampshire Gazette, first paper printed at Portsmouth.
 Portsmouth votes £40 sterling, for a fire engine.
 War declared by England against France.
 British troops sent over under General Abercrombie.
 Fort Oswego taken by the French, and destroyed.
1757. Colonel Cargill, tried for killing an Indian, but no jury would convict a man at that time for killing an Indian.
 The French, led by Montcalm, take Fort William Henry.
 Massachusetts refuses to allow English troops to be quartered and billeted upon her inhabitants.
 Danvers (M.) incorporated.
1758. Louisburg taken by the English, led by Amherst and Wolfe.
 The English repulsed from Ticonderoga, by Montcalm. They take Fort Frontenac.
 Forbes takes possession of Fort Du Quesne, and changes its name to Pittsburg.
 Major Putnam taken prisoner by the Indians, near Lake George.
 Lord Howe killed.
 The Indians attack Fort St. George (in Maine), and are beaten off.
 Jonathan Edwards dies, aged 55.
1759. Quebec taken by the English. Generals Wolfe and Montcalm killed on the Plains of Abraham. (September 13.)
 General Amherst takes Fort Ticonderoga.
 The Indian town of St. Francis destroyed by Major Rogers.
 Colonel Johnson captures Fort Niagara (24th July).
 Two lotteries granted in Massachusetts, to raise money to pave and build highways.

1759. Amherst (M.) incorporated.
1760. Final surrender of Canada, to General Amherst, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.
 Francis Bernard arrives as Governor of Massachusetts.
 The inhabitants of New England estimated at 500,000; the Churches at 530.
 George II. dies, aged 77. George III. succeeds.
 Writs of Assistance issued.
 March 20—A fire rages from the Brazen-head, in Cornhill, Boston, far and wide, and destroys 174 dwelling houses, 175 warehouses, and property of all kinds, to the amount of £100,000 sterling.
 Richmond (M.) begun.
 Washington (M.) begun.
1761. Parliament, in England, grants compensation to Massachusetts, for her expenses in the war against Canada.
 The quarrel between England and Massachusetts, about "Writs of Assistance," brought to argument.
 An emigration from New England to Nova Scotia.
 Severe drought; great quantities of timber destroyed by fires.
 Coleraine (M.) incorporated.
 Belchertown (M.) incorporated. "The Equivalent Lands."
 Phillis Wheatley, a black child, bought in the Boston market.
1762. The Massachusetts Legislature incorporate "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge among the Indians," disallowed by England.
 "The Providence Gazette" published.
 Gold also made a legal tender in Massachusetts.
 Hancock (M.) begun.
 Dark day (14th October), at Detroit.
1763. Peace of Paris concluded, between England and France.
 Nova Scotia and Canada confirmed to Great Britain.
 The British court express an intention to keep 10,000 troops in America.
 Population, 1763:
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|----------|------------------------|
| Massachusetts, | . . . | 241,000, | of whom, 5,200 slaves. |
| Connecticut, | . . . | 145,500, | " 4,500 " |
| Rhode Island, | . . . | 40,000, | " 4,600 " |
| New Hampshire (1767), | | 52,700. | |
- The lords of the admiralty give orders that the acts of trade shall be strictly enforced in the colonies.
 An insolvent law passed in Massachusetts.
 John Eliot, minister of Killingworth, dies, aged 78.
1764. Duties laid by Parliament on foreign molasses imported into British colonies ("The Sugar or Molasses Act").
 March—Mr. Grenville proposes in Parliament the laying of stamp duties in the colonies. The House of Representatives in Massachusetts directs its agent to remonstrate against this; Connecticut does the same.

1764. Small-pox spreads through Boston.
 Harvard Hall, in Cambridge, burned, with a library of 5,000 volumes.
 James Otis publishes, "The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved."
 First steps taken for a college in Rhode Island.
 Newburyport incorporated.
 Fitchburg incorporated.
 The King declares the Connecticut River to be the boundary of New Hampshire.
 Total produce of the New England fisheries, £322,220.
1765. January 10—Stamp act passed; completed on the 22d March.
 "The Sons of Liberty" organize for defense.
 August 14—Mob in Boston oppose the stamp act.
 August 26—Governor Hutchinson's house destroyed by the mob.
 The stamp masters resign.
 May 29—Virginia denies the right of England to tax them.
 Massachusetts proposes a general Congress.
 7th October—Congress convenes at New York, and petitions the King and Parliament.
 Boston contains 15,520 inhabitants.
 Stephen Sewall appointed first professor of Hebrew in Harvard College.
 Oxenbridge Thacher dies, aged 45.
 Chester (M.) incorporated.
1766. March 19—The stamp act repealed.
 The Massachusetts Assembly order their debates to be held with open doors.
 Jonathan Mayhew dies, aged 46.
 Doctor Boylston dies, aged 87.
1767. Parliament imposes a duty on paper, glass, colors, and teas, brought into the colonies; also an act quartering soldiers upon the colonists.
 November—Custom house commissioners from England arrive in Boston.
 Thomas Clap, president of Yale College, dies, aged 64.
 Lenox (M.) incorporated.
 Massachusetts Legislature attempts to abolish the slave-trade.
1768. The General Court of Massachusetts sends "Circular Letter" to the American colonies—February 11.
 Governor Bernard dissolves the General Court of Massachusetts for refusing to recall it.
 August—Boston merchants resolve not to import any more British goods, till the revenue laws are repealed; Connecticut and New York merchants second them.
 September 22—Delegates from Massachusetts towns meet at Boston.
 September 28—British troops arrive in Boston; quarter in Faneuil Hall and the State House.

1768. June 10—John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* seized at Boston. •
1769. The town of Boston petitions the King.
 John Wesley sends two Methodist preachers to America.
 Slaveholders persuaded to free their slaves.
 Non-importation agreement becomes general.
 Governor Bernard recalled to England, and Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchinson takes his place.
 Abe Buell, of Killingworth, Connecticut, manufactures types.
 Dr. John Witherspoon comes from Scotland, and is chosen to preside over the New Jersey college.
 American Philosophical Society founded.
1770. March 5—Riots in Boston; number of inhabitants killed by British troops ("Boston Massacre").
 Tea no longer used in Boston.
 September 10—Governor Hutchinson delivers Castle William to the British troops.
 A negro slave (the Lechmere slave case), in Massachusetts, sues his master for his freedom, and gets it; others do the same.
 Brown University begun, 1764; removed to Providence, 1770.
 Dartmouth College established.
 Lord North has all duties but that on tea repealed.
 New England employs 120 sail in whaling.
 The students at Cambridge graduate, dressed in black cloth, of American manufacture.
 Rev. Nehemiah Strong made first professor of mathematics in Yale College.
 Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire, dies, aged 75.
 Whitefield, the preacher, dies, aged 56; bells tolled from 11 o'clock till sun-down.
 Armies of caterpillars destroy the crops in Massachusetts.
1771. Thomas Hutchinson appointed Governor of Massachusetts, to be paid by the Crown.
 Dr. Franklin says that twenty-five newspapers are now printed in America.
 William Shirley dies at Roxbury, aged 77.
 Robert Sandeman dies at Danbury, aged 53.
 Dartmouth College incorporated in New Hampshire (at Hanover).
1772. The *Gaspee*, British armed schooner, burnt by a mob at Rhode Island.
 Nov. 22—A committee of correspondence chosen in Boston, in town meeting.
1773. Tea act passed; and tea sent to America by the East India Company; everywhere refused.
 Dec. 16—Three cargoes of tea destroyed by a mob in Boston.
 587 vessels entered the port of Boston; 411 cleared.
 The boundary between New York and Massachusetts settled.
 Aug. 14—A tornado destroys Salisbury, Massachusetts.

1773. A pavement laid down in Salem.

1774. The two Houses in Massachusetts pass an act prohibiting the importation of slaves. The Governor refuses his assent.

New York determines to take possession of Vermont. Vol. ii., p. 112.

150 vessels at Nantucket employed in the whale fishery.

May 13—General Gage arrives at Boston as Governor of Mass.

June 1—The port of Boston closed by act of Parliament.

General Court of Massachusetts held at Salem; five delegates appointed to the Congress in Philadelphia.

Sept. 5—First Continental Congress held at Philadelphia; delegates present from 11 colonies.

Shakers spring up—Ann Lee their leader.

Sept. 6—The Suffolk Resolves pass.

Oct. 5—Massachusetts's provincial congress meets at Concord.

The people of Rhode Island and New Hampshire take possession of the forts, (Dec.)

Dr. Franklin dismissed from the Post Office.

Street lamps introduced in Boston.

General Winslow dies, aged 71.

General Bradstreet dies.

Sir William Johnson dies at Albany, aged 60.

Estimated population, 1775; the number, exclusive of slaves, ascertained by Congress, is:—

New Hampshire,	.	.	.	.	.	102,000
Massachusetts,	.	.	.	.	.	352,000
Rhode Island,	.	.	.	.	.	58,000
Connecticut,	.	.	.	.	.	202,000
New York,	.	.	.	.	.	238,000
New Jersey,	.	.	.	.	.	138,000
Pennsylvania,	.	.	.	.	.	341,000
Delaware,	.	.	.	.	.	37,000
Maryland,	.	.	.	.	.	174,000
Virginia,	.	.	.	.	.	300,000
North Carolina,	.	.	.	.	.	181,000
South Carolina,	.	.	.	.	.	93,000
Georgia,	.	.	.	.	.	27,000
						<hr/> 2,243,000
Slaves,	.	.	.	.	.	500,000

1775. Jan.—Lord Chatham moves an address to the king, to recall the British troops from Boston.

Parliament refuses to receive the petition of Congress (26th Jan.)

Bill to restrain the New England trade, and to prevent their fishing without a permit from some English official, passed by Parliament (March 21).

1774. April 19—The fight at Lexington begins the war of Independence.
General Gage seizes the arms of the inhabitants of Boston.
1775. May 5—The Massachusetts provincial congress renounces General Gage as governor.
May 10—Colonel Ethan Allen takes Ticonderoga; Colonel Warner takes Crown Point.
May 2—Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrive in Boston.
General Gage declares Mass. to be in a state of rebellion.
The American army numbers 14,500 men.
May 10—Second Congress meets at Philadelphia.
July 20—Massachusetts convenes her own provincial Assembly.
June 17—Battle of Bunker Hill.
July 2—General George Washington takes command of the American army at Cambridge.
August—Paper money first issued by Congress.
Sept.—General Gage leaves for England, and Sir William Howe commands the British troops.
Dec.—Parliament declares the colonies in a state of rebellion.
Old South Church in Boston turned into a military riding-school.
African lodge of black masons founded at Boston.
Oct. 18—Falmouth burned by the British cruisers.
Expedition against Canada resolved on. Colonel Arnold starts through Maine (Sept. 13). General Montgomery leads an expedition through Lake Champlain. Nov. 12, takes Montreal. Dec. 31, assaults Quebec, and is killed.
Sept. 30—Stonington attacked by the *Rose*, British armed vessel.
Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, fit out two armed vessels each. Nov. 13, Massachusetts Assembly passes an act for fitting out armed vessels. Dec. 13, committee of Congress report in favor of fitting out 13 ships of war—the beginning of the American navy.
Four British store-ships captured at Boston.
Benjamin Franklin chosen Postmaster General.
Oct. 7—Captain Wallace fires 120 cannon from his ships into Bristol, R. I., which had refused him provisions.
Peyton Randolph dies, at Philadelphia, aged 52.
Josiah Quincy dies, at sea, aged 31.
1776. January—"Common Sense" appears.
January—Norfolk burned by the British.
January—New Hampshire in provincial convention proceeds to establish a government independent of England.
Enlistments expire, and the American army is reduced from 20,000 to 5,000.
March 17—British evacuate Boston.
April 14—General Washington arrives in New York.
June 14—British ships driven from Nantasket Roads.

June 25—General Howe, with the British army, arrives at Sandy Hook.

June 28—Sir Peter Parker attacks Charleston.

1776. July 4—Congress declares the United States Independent.

July 6—Congress recommends the States to settle their forms of government.

August 22—General Howe lands his army on Long Island.

“ 27—Battle of Long Island.

September 15—General Howe takes possession of New York.

“ Congress resolves to raise an army of 75,000 men.

October 28—Battle of Whiteplains.

December 8—British troops take possession of Newport.

“ Congress removes to Baltimore.

“ 26—Battle of Trenton.

Amount of warlike stores in Massachusetts, April 14, 1776, from returns made from all the counties, except Duke county and Nantucket:—

Fire-arms,	.	.	.	.	.	.	21,549
Pounds of powder,	.	.	.	.	.	.	17,441
“ of ball,	.	.	.	.	.	.	22,191
No. of flints,	.	.	.	.	.	.	144,699
No. of bayonets,	10,108
No. of pouches,	11,979

“About half a pound of powder to a man.”

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